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TRAVELS

THROUGH

*TURKEY IN ASIA, THE HOLY LAND,
ARABIA, EGYPT,*

AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD:

GIVING A PARTICULAR AND FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS MOST
REMARKABLE IN THE

MANNERS, RELIGION, POLITY, ANTIQUITIES,

AND

NATURAL HISTORY OF THOSE COUNTRIES:

WITH A

CURIOUS DESCRIPTION

OF

Jerusalem,

AS IT NOW APPEARS,

AND OTHER PLACES MENTIONED IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY CHARLES THOMPSON, Esq.

Interspersed with the REMARKS of several other modern Travellers; illustrated
with NOTES, Historical, Geographical, and Miscellaneous.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY A. NAPIER, TRONGATE,

FOR A. FULLARTON, W. SOMMERVILLE AND J. BLACKIE.

1810.

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TRAVELS

THE

TRAVELS IN ASIA, THE HOLY LAND

ARABIA, EGYPT,

AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD:

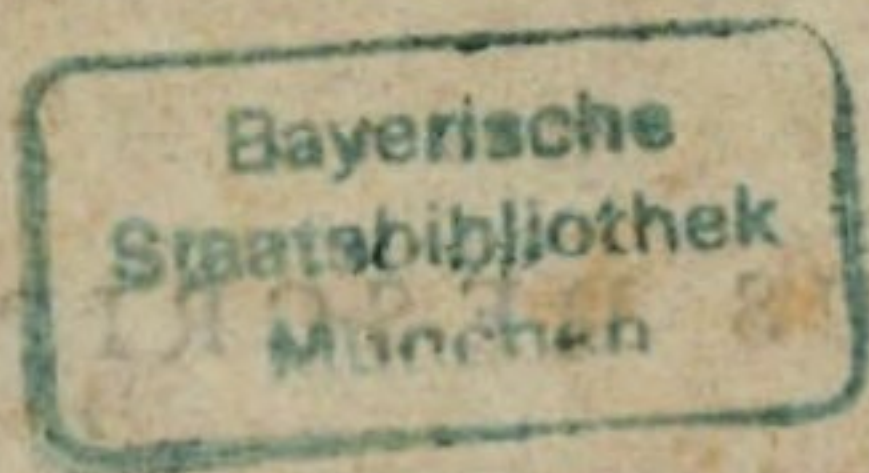
GIVING A PARTICULAR AND VALUABLE ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS MOST

REMARKABLE IN THE

MANNERS, RELIGION, POLITY, ANTIQUITIES

AND

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THOSE COUNTRIES.



CHRONOLOGICAL

TABLE

AS IT NOW APPEARS

AND OTHER PLACES MENTIONED IN THE MOST-REMARKABLE

BY CH. W. THOMPSON, ESQ.

Illustrated with the names of several other modern Travellers; Illustrated with notes, Historical, Geographical, and Miscellaneous.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY A. MACLEOD, TOWN-GATE,

FOR J. G. LEITCH, W. G. LEITCH, AND J. BLACKIE.

1810.

PREFACE.

WE all find in ourselves a strong desire of viewing the world, and being acquainted with whatever is remarkable in distant nations; but this inclination, how general soever, few have sufficient fortune or opportunity to gratify. And indeed, were it in our power, it would not be very commendable to indulge an idle curiosity, without proposing some real advantage either to ourselves or others. But when we consider that travelling, in its own nature, tends to wean us from our prejudices, to polish our manners, to improve our judgment, to refine our taste, and to furnish us with every kind of useful knowledge; I say, when we consider this, we must own it has of late been deservedly practised and encouraged, not only by the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, but those of our neighbouring nations.

If then the advantages of travelling are so evident and undeniable, it necessarily follows, that many must likewise arise from reading the writings of travellers. By this means a man may sit at home in ease and safety, and, for the expense of a few shillings, make all that treasure of observations and experience his own, for which the traveller has gone through innumerable difficulties and dangers, has spent the prime of his years, and perhaps great part of an ample fortune.

What we here present the reader with, is the travels of the late Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON, whose

learning and abilities as a scholar and a gentleman are too well known to need any encomium.

In the following work the footsteps of our blessed Saviour and his apostles are traced out, many disputes between historians and travellers adjusted and determined, and the doctrines of our holy religion illustrated and confirmed; and that in a style so polite, pure, and delicate, so easy and familiar, that the learned readers will be agreeably entertained, while the unlearned are both delighted and instructed.

The account of the Holy Land will naturally excite our piety and devotion, when we consider it as the theatre of the greatest part of scripture history, and the place where the glorious work of man's redemption was accomplished. When we take a view of Jerusalem, every heap of ruins make us reflect on the instability of human grandeur, and remind us that we are strangers and pilgrims upon earth, seeking a city which hath (everlasting) foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Our Author's accurate description of this country, and his judicious remarks will be of great service towards a thorough understanding of the Old and New Testament.

More time need not be spent in shewing the benefit and pleasure of reading books of this nature; since it is evident, that the geographer and the historian, the architect and the statuary, the poet and the painter, the philosopher and the divine; in a word, persons of every art and profession, of every rank and station in life, may draw great advantages from the labours of a wise and judicious traveller.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

TURKEY IN ASIA.

WE sailed from Constantinople on the 2d of September, 1733, on board a vessel bound for Smyrna, and in eight days time arrived at the Dardanelles, where we were obliged to stop, as all outward-bound ships are, in order to be searched whether we had any slaves belonging to the Turks; notwithstanding which caution, scarce a day passes but some of these poor creatures find means to escape. No ship of war, of whatever nation, is exempted from being thus visited, without express orders from the Porte; but indeed the search is little more than a ceremony. Having passed by the island of Tenedos on the 13th, the next day we were forced by contrary winds to put into the port of Castro, the capital of the island of Metelin, anciently called Lesbos; where we went ashore to make some observations on a place so famous in antiquity.

It is pretty plain from Strabo's description of the two ports of Mitylene, that Castro was built on its ruins; and how large and magnificent that city was, appears from Cicero, Stephanus Byzantius,

Vitruvius *, and other authors. The remains of its ancient grandeur are still abundantly visible; for every where about it we meet with pieces of marble columns, most of them white or ash-coloured, some fluted in a direct, and others in a spiral manner. We were really surprised at the great number of chapiters, frizes, and pedestals, other fragments, with scraps of inscriptions scarcely legible, though in several of them we could discern the word *gymnasiarch*. These perhaps are as ancient as Epicurus's time, who at the age of thirty-two years read public lectures at Mitylene, as we are informed by Diogenes Laertius; and Aristotle resided here two years, according to the same author.

The ancient Mitylene has produced many illustrious persons, and among the rest Pittacus †, one of

* Cicero (de Leg. Agrar.) commends the ancient Mitylene for its situation, the beauty of its buildings, and the fertility and pleasantness of the adjacent country: "Et natura, et situ, et descriptione ædificiorum, et pulchritudine in primis nobilis Mitylenæ; agri jucundi et fertiles," &c. But Vitruvius, (Lib. 1. cap. 6.) though he allows the elegance and magnificence of its buildings, does not approve of its situation, as not enjoying a very healthful air: "In ea (urbe) quippe, dum flat Auster, incolæ ægrotant; dum Caurus, tussunt; cum Septentrio, in salubritatem restituuntur."

† Pittacus was a true patriot, and did great service to his country. Joining with the Brothers of Alcæus, the famous lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of an exiled party, he drove the tyrants out of Lesbos, who had usurped the government of that island. The inhabitants of Mitylene, being at war with the Athenians, gave the command of their army to Pittacus; who, to spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat; which challenge was

the seven sages of Greece, whose sentences were written on the walls of Apollo's temple at Delphos. The poet Alcæus and the poetess Sappho were also of Mitylene, and lived at the same time; and the inhabitants struck medals in honour of these three ornaments of their country, several of which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. On one of them Pittacus is represented on one side, and Alcæus on the other. Upon another medal we meet with Sappho sitting with a lyre in her hand, and the reverse is the head of Nausicæ, daughter of Alcinous, whose orchards were so famed for their excellent fruits. Sappho composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining; but these are sufficient to satisfy us, that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. The Ancients had such a great

excepted, and Pittacus was victorious, having killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, conferred the sovereignty of the city upon Pittacus, which he accepted, and governed with great wisdom and moderation. In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus, in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper; but when the poet afterwards fell into his hands, he was so far from taking his revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and shewed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was a tyrant only in name. After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority and retired. He used to say, That the proof of a good government was to engage the subjects not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him. And it was a maxim with him, That no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. See Rollin's Ancient History, Vol. II.

opinion of her merit, that they called her the tenth Muse: but the purity of her manners was not at all equal to the beauty of her genius. The rhetorician Diophanus, according to Strabo, was also a native of Mitylene; and in the age of Augustus, Potamon, Crinagoras, and the historian Theophanes, well known on account of his friendship with Pompey, whose acts he wrote, and was by him presented with the freedom of Rome.

Not only Mitylene, but other towns of Lesbos, have produced men famous for their genius and learning. It is reckoned there are still above a hundred towns and villages in this island, one of which, called Erisso, is undoubtedly the ancient Eressus, the birth-place of Theophrastus and Phantias, two disciples of Aristotle. According to Plutarch, the Lesbians were the greatest musicians of all the Grecians. The famous Arion* was of Methymne, another town of Lesbos, the ruins whereof are visible to this day; and Terpander, who was the first that fitted seven strings to the lyre, was also a native of this country. We may add to all these, upon the authority of Strabo, Hellenicus the historian, and

* This excellent musician and poet was in great esteem with Periander king of Corinth, by whose recommendation he went over to Italy, and gained great wealth by his art: But returned from thence to Corinth, he was stripped of his money by the mariners, who also threatened to kill him: whereupon he desired leave to play one tune upon his harp before he died, and this being granted, he is said to have leaped into the sea, where he was received on the back of a dolphin, charmed with his music, which carried him safe to shore.

Callias, who wrote annotations upon the poems of Alcæus and Sappho.

But notwithstanding so many great men have been born in this island, and such grave lectures of philosophy delivered there, the morals of the inhabitants were very corrupt, insomuch that it was a proverbial speech in Greece, when they spoke of a profligate fellow, to say, that he lived like a Lesbian. However, the present natives do not seem to deserve so bad a character, and the women especially are more modest, and less addicted to gallantry, than in several other islands of the Archipelago.

The island of Metelin is about fifty miles in length, and five and twenty broad, its mountains being shaded with woods in many places, and its vallies and plains producing plenty of corn. It also affords very good oil, and the best figs in all the Archipelago; and is still remarkable for its excellent wines, so justly celebrated by the Ancients*. Aristotle, we are told, pronounced in favour of the wine of Lesbos with his dying breath. It being debated, it seems,

* How lavish the Ancients were in praise of this wine, may be seen in Athenæus, Lib. I. cap. 22, 23, &c.—Among other species of wines, we find mention of the Lesbian in Virgil's Georgicks:

“Non eadem arboribus pendet vendemia nostris,

“Quam Methymnæo carpit de palmite Lesbos.”

Lib. II. 89, 90.

Nor our Italian vines produce the shape,

Or taste, or flavour of the Lesbian grape. DRYDEN.

And Horace, inviting his mistress to his country-seat, promises to entertain her with a glass of Lesbian, which he calls innocent, or harmless.

“Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii

“Duces sub umbra.”———Lib. I. Od. 17.

who should succeed this great philosopher in the Lyceum, that might keep up the reputation of the Peripatetic school, and Menedemus of Rhodes and Theophrastus of Lesbos being candidates, Aristotle called for a glass of the wine of each island, and having tasted them deliberately, they are both excellent wines, (said he) but that of Lesbos is the more agreeable of the two†; intimating, no doubt, that Theophrastus excelled his competitor, as much as the wine of Lesbos was preferable to that of Rhodes. Pliny likewise praises the wine of Lesbos, on the authority of Erasistratus, a very eminent physician of antiquity.

This island is inhabited partly by Turks, and partly by Greeks, and is governed by a Cadi, and an officer of the Janizaries, who reside at Castro; which town is not very large nor well built, but is defended by a pretty strong castle with a good garrison. Castro, or the ancient Mitylene, is not the only port of the island; there are three others, namely, Jero, Caloni, and Sigre, the first of which is reckoned one of the handsomest in the Mediterranean, and is known to the Franks by the name of port Olivier. The wind coming to the North-West, we sailed from Castro early on the 6th of September, and in the evening dropped anchor in the road of Smyrna. The next day we went ashore, and waited on the English and French consuls, who gave us a very kind reception, as did several gentlemen of the English factory, whom we afterwards visited as we had an opportunity.

† Aul. Gell. Lib. XIII. cap. 5.

The port of Smyrna is perhaps the finest in all the Levant, being capable of containing a numerous fleet, and is seldom without fourscore or a hundred ships of several nations. The city extends itself along the shore, at the foot of a hill, which commands it; on the top whereof stands an old castle, which will be spoken of hereafter. The houses in general have no great beauty in them, being built low, and many of them of clay; but the streets are wide, and the caravansaries and other public buildings have an air of magnificence. The Franks-street, so called from its being inhabited chiefly by European Christians, is the handsomest in Smyrna, and runs all along the port; the sea washing the back part of the houses. In this street are the houses of the consuls of England, Holland, and France, and of the foreign merchants, who live together very amicably, and do not fail of visiting and entertaining each other in the politest manner. In short, as we see scarce any but European habits in this part of the town, and here the several languages of Europe spoken, we seem to be rather in Christendom than in Turkey, and feel a kind of pleasure that is not easy to be described.

The entrance of the port of Smyrna is defended by a square castle, whose sides are about a hundred paces long, flanked with four mean bastions, and has a square tower in the middle. The cannon are without carriages, and as large as those of the Dardanelles; and though the place be of no great strength, it sufficiently commands the shipping going in or out of the bay. This castle stands upon a point of land, almost opposite to the mouth of the river Her-

mus, which forms a bank of sand, that makes the entrance of the bay narrow, but renders it safer for the ships that ride within it, by breaking the force of the sea, which would otherwise roll into it when the wind is strong at West; and though the entrance is narrow, it is far from being dangerous, if a pilot has the least knowledge of his business, and keeps towards the Southern shore.

A day or two after our arrival, we went to see the old castle of Smyrna, situated on a hill that commands the city, as I have observed before. Upon that side of the hill that looks towards the bay was formerly one of the finest amphitheatres in Asia, all of white marble, which the Turks demolished in the last century, to build a fine bezestin and caravan-sary, which are none of the least of the present ornaments of Smyrna. This amphitheatre was either built in the reign of the emperor Claudius, whose name M. Spon discovered upon a pedestal in a part of the building; or rather, as our countrymen Sir George Wheeler conjectures, in the time of Gallienus; a pot of medals, all of that emperor's family, or of other princes reigning at the same time, having been found in digging up the foundations of this noble structure.

As to the ancient castle, it was built by John Ducas, and favours of the times of the latter Greek emperors, when they used the finest marbles in building the walls of cities and other fortifications. The greatest part of this castle is run to ruin, and hardly any thing left standing but the walls. One may still discern two Roman eagles indifferently cut in stone near the North-gate, and over the gate a Greek

inscription, but so high and defaced that we could not read it. There is also to be seen in the wall the bust of the Amazon Smyrna, the reputed foundress of this city: It is about three feet high, and does not seem to have been of extraordinary workmanship; but it is not very easy to judge of that, since the Turks have beat off the nose, and injured other parts of the face. It is certain this bust has none of the attributes of an Amazon, whereas on the ancient medals of this city the Amazon who founded it is distinguished by a two-edged hatchet on her shoulder, and a crown of towers on her head. The figure of this heroine was the symbol of the city, as appears from the reverse of the medals struck in token of the alliances between the Smyrneans and their neighbours.

In the flourishing times of Greece, the ground where this castle now stands was taken up with a citadel under the protection of Jupiter Acræus, or the god who presides over lofty places. In some cabinets we met with a medallion, whereon this god Acræus is represented sitting; and also a medal of Vespasian, where he appears in the same posture, holding a victory in his right hand, and a spear in the other. And Pausanias assures us, that the top of the mountain of Smyrna, called Coryphus, gave the name of Coryphæus to Jupiter, on account of a temple erected there to that deity.

Many medals of Smyrna help us to know the rank it held among the cities of Asia; and by others we learn its confederacies with the neighbouring cities, as Pergamus, Thyatira, and Hierapolis. We are informed by Tacitus, that the citizens boasted of their

being the first in all Asia who raised a temple to Rome under the name of Rome the goddess, even whilst her rival Carthage was standing, and several powerful kings of Asia as yet knew nothing of Roman valour. Smyrna took the title of the first city in Asia under Caracalla, which it retained under several succeeding emperors.

Leaving the castle, we went to view the remains of the circus, and passed by a half-ruined chapel in our way thither where the Greek Christians pretend to shew us the fragments of the tomb of St. Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John, and the first bishop of Smyrna; and they visit the place with great devotion. This Christian pastor, having long had the care of the church of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom* in that city in a very advanced age, either under Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius; but the manner of his death is not agreed on, some saying he was burnt alive, though it is generally believed he was torn in pieces by wild beasts either in the amphitheatre or the circus.

Here it may not be amiss to observe, that of the seven churches of Asia mentioned in the Revelation, only this of Smyrna remains in any reputation. The

* St. John, Rev. ii. 9, 10. writes thus to the angel of the church at Smyrna: "I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty; but thou art rich,—Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life" The good Polycarp followed this advice, and undoubtedly received the promised reward; and after his example, the church of Smyrna in those days was a noble army of martyrs.

other cities, that St. John was commanded to write to, are now either miserable villages, or entirely ruined. That of Sardis, which made such a figure in the wars between the Persians and Grecians; Pergamus, the capital of a fine kingdom; and Ephesus, which gloried in being the metropolis of all Asia minor; these three famous cities are now obscure and inconsiderable villages, built with clay and some marble fragments, the remains of their ancient grandeur. Thyatira, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, are scarce known, but by some inscription found amongst their ruins.

May we not therefore deem it a peculiar blessing of providence, that there are yet so many Christians remaining in Smyrna, notwithstanding they are under a Mahometan power? They reckon at least ten thousand Greeks, though they have but two churches; and several hundred Armenians, who have one church; besides a considerable number of Franks, under which name are comprehended the Christians of the several nations of Europe. The Latins have three convents, one of Jesuits, another of the Franciscans, and a third of Recollets, who are reformed friars of the order of St. Francis. An archbishop of the Greek church resides here, and a Latin bishop, who has a stipend from Rome; and the English and Dutch factories have each of them their chaplain. As to the Turks, who have the government, they are the most numerous, being about fifteen thousand, and have seventeen or eighteen mosques. The Jews are near two thousand in number, and have five or six synagogues.

But to proceed to the circus: This is so entirely destroyed, and the marbles all carried away, that nothing remains of it but its figure in the ground. It is a kind of pit about two hundred and fifty paces long, and fifty in breadth, one end of it being semicircular, and the other square; but the walls that enclosed it; as I have just observed, are quite demolished, and the stones made use of to other purposes. From the hill where this circus was built, we have a fine view of the adjacent country, which is very delightful, being full of olive-yards and vine-yards.

It is very probable, that neither the amphitheatre nor circus was built so soon as the time of Augustus; for, if they had, Strabo would hardly have forgot to mention them in his description of the situation and beauties of ancient Smyrna. Nothing can give us a finer idea of the magnificence of Smyrna in the reign of Augustus, than the account of it we have received from that writer. “When the Lydians, says he, “had destroyed Smyrna, the inhabitants of the country thereabouts, for four hundred years, lived only “in small villages: But Antigonus rebuilt it, and after him Lysimachus. At this day it is the finest city “of all Asia. Part of it is built upon the mountain, “but the greatest part stands in the plain towards “the bay, as far as the temple of Cybele and the “Gymnasium. The streets are very handsome, being well paved with stone, and intersecting one “another, as near as possible, at right angles. There “are large and beautiful portico’s both in the upper “and lower parts of the city; also a public library, “and the Homeron, which is a square portico with

“ a temple containing the statue of Homer; for the
“ inhabitants of Smyrna are very fond of having that
“ poet to have been born there, and have struck a
“ copper medallion which they call Homerion. The
“ river Meles runs by the walls. On the other side of
“ the city there is a port which may be shut up at
“ pleasure.”

The old Smyrna, which Strabo tells us was destroyed by the Lydians, in all probability, stood on a hill to the South of the present city, and West from that whereon the castle is situated; for there we find several heaps of stones, laid in some regularity, as if there had been a wall. But the new Smyrna of Strabo, which is the old one of our times, undoubtedly took up all the hill of the castle, and that adjoining to it, down to a point running into the bay Southwards, and much more of the plain to the North-East than is possessed by the present city. Where the temple of Cybele was, the Gymnasium, and the many noble portico's that adorned this city, we can make no probable conjectures; but as for the port that could be shut or opened at pleasure, it might be that little harbour which now serves for the gallies and other smaller vessels. We are also ignorant where the temple of Homer stood, but the medals struck in honour of him are still to be met with in our cabinets, having his head and name on one side, and the figure of the river Meles on the other, with the name underneath it in Greek characters.

Homer, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he

was born, or the time in which he lived*. Among the seven cities of Greece†, that contend for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title. That poet was called Melesigines, from a supposition of his being born near the banks of the river Meles, which falls into the bay of Smyrna, after having watered several pleasant gardens near that city. An unfortunate fair one, we are told, driven from Cuma by the shame of finding herself with child, and being destitute of a lodging, came to lie-in upon the banks of this river, which, though inconsiderable in itself, has been rendered by this event one of the most famous in history. Her child afterwards lost his sight, and was therefore called Homer, that is to say, blind, according to Plutarch; though some give the name another etymology. It is a vulgar opinion that he was born blind, but Velleius Paterculus is of quite different sentiments, and treats the supposition with con-

* Herodotus tells us, that Horace wrote four hundred years before his time, that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy, for Herodotus flourished seven hundred and forty years after that expedition; so that Homer flourished eight hundred and forty-four years before the birth of Christ, supposing Troy to have been taken eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the same æra. But chronologers differ much about this matter.

† The names of these cities are expressed in the following distich:

“Septem urbes certant de stripe insignis Homeri,
 “Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamin, Chios, Argos,
 “Athenæ.”

tempt †. Indeed we may as well suppose a fine painter to have been born blind; for, as Cicero observes, Homer's works are rather pictures than poems, wherein he sets before the eye of the reader, in the most lively manner, the images of every thing he undertakes to describe; and he seems to have been intent upon introducing into his writings all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords.

What is more astonishing in Homer is this, that being the first, at least that we know of, who attempted epic poetry, (of all kinds the most difficult and sublime) he should however soar so high, and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to its utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, wherein improvements are made by slow degrees, and which require a long series of years and variety of experiments to bring them to maturity. It is also very remarkable, that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems equal to Homer's; and that whoever have made any attempts of the same kind, have taken their plan and borrowed their rules from him; in a word, have made him their model, and have succeeded in proportion to their skill in copying that great original*.—But of Homer and his

† If any man, says he, believes that Homer was born blind, he must be blind himself, and even have lost all his senses; “*Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbis est.*”

Paterc. Lib. 1. c. 5.

* Agreeable to these observations are the praises given to Homer by the same Velleius Paterculus, who says, that he is the only one who deserves the name of a poet, and that what is most

works I shall have occasion to say something more hereafter.

Smyrna, proud of having given birth to so great a poet, erected a statue and a temple to him, and struck medals with his name, as I have before observed; and other cities in alliance with the Smyrneans followed their example. As for the river Meles, which Pausanias calls a fine river, though it is a very insignificant one at present, it was not forgot upon those medals designed to do honour to the memory of the poet. Upon one medal we find it represented under the figure of an old man, leaning with his left hand upon an urn, and hold a Cornucopia[†] in his right. It is also represented upon a

surprising is, that he had no man before him whom he could imitate, nor has any one been found since his death who could imitate him. “Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo, maximum, qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, solus appellari Poeta meruit: In quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur; neque post illum, qui imitari eum possit, inventus est.” Paterc. L. I. c. 5.—As to Homer’s character and manner of writing, Quintilian gives us a just idea of them in a few words: In great things, says he, there is a sublimity of expression; and in little, a justness and propriety: He is diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave; equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity. “Hunc nemo magnis in rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superavit: Idem latus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis.” Quintil. Lib. X. cap. 1.

† The Cornucopia, according to the fables of the ancient poets, was a horn out of which proceeded plenty of all things. Some tell us, that Jupiter was nursed by Amalthea, daughter of Melissus king of Crete, with goats milk and honey: and others say, that Almathea was the name of the goat that suckled him, and

medal of Nero, with the simple legend of the city, as likewise upon those of Titus and Domitian.

To the South-east of Smyrna, after passing through a little forest of olives, at the bottom of a hill that faces the road where the ships lie at anchor, we met with some hot baths, which perhaps are the same that Strabo speaks of in his description of the places that lie in the way between Smyrna and Clazomene; and the same author tells us he found there a temple of Apollo, but we could discover no traces of such a structure. Of the ancient buildings about these baths, which were very fine, if we may judge by the ruins, there remains nothing at present but one little cellar, where there is a reservoir into which two pipes empty themselves, one of hot water, the other of cold; but I do not find that these baths are much frequented.

If we look back a little into the history of Smyrna, we find that the Romans always treated this city with great clemency, being willing to preserve to themselves the finest port of Asia; and the Smyrneans, in their turn, behaved with submission and fidelity to the Romans, for fear of exposing themselves to the resentment of that powerful people. Crassus Mucianus, the Roman proconsul, was very unfortun-

that Jupiter for her good services afterwards placed her among the constellations, and gave one of her horns to his nurse, with this admirable privilege, that whoever possessed it should immediately obtain every thing they desired. Others relate this fable after a different manner, and mythologists give it various interpretations. In sculpture or painting, the Cornucopia, or horn of plenty, is represented by a large horn, out of which issue fruits, flowers, &c.

ate near this city, being overcome by Aristonicus and taken prisoner: However, by a voluntary death, he avoided the shame of being delivered into the victor's hands; but his head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna. Perpenna, who succeeded Crassus, revenged his death, entirely routing Aristonicus's army, making him prisoner, and at last sending him to Rome, where he was strangled in prison. In the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, Smyrna declared for the latter, and furnished him with ships. After Cæsar's death, the Smyranean's being inclined to the side of the conspirators, refused Dolabella entrance into the city, and received the consul Trebonius, one of the principal authors of Cæsar's assassination: But Dolabella acted his part so cunningly, that he entered Smyrna by night, seized Trebonius, and put him to death. Dolabella, however, could not keep the place, being expelled by Brutus and Cassius. All that was past was forgotten when Augustus became peaceable possessor of the empire, and Smyrna was then in a flourishing condition, as appears from Strabo's account. Tiberius honoured the city with his favour and protection, and made several regulations as to its rights and privileges. Great part of it being destroyed by an earthquake, was rebuilt by M. Aurelius.

After the Romans, Smyrna fell into the hands of the Greek emperors, who lost it under Alexis Comnenus; for Tzachas, a famous Mahometan Corsair, seeing the affairs of the empire very much embarrassed, took that opportunity to seize upon Smyrna, Phoea, and Clazomene, which is now an inconsiderable village called Vourla. To retake Smyrna, the Greek

emperor sent his brother in-law, John Ducas, with a body of land-forces, and a fleet under the command of Caspax, who was made governor of the city, which surrendered without making any opposition. As Caspax was returning to Smyrna, after he had been to take leave of Ducas, he was assassinated by one Sarrasin, a robber and an abandoned villain.

In the time of Michael Paleologus, who drove the Latins from Constantinople, the Mahometans made themselves masters of the greatest part of Asia Minor. Atin, one of their chief generals, took Smyrna, under Andronicus the elder. He was succeeded by his son Homur, who being taken up in ravaging the coasts of the Propontis, the knights of Rhodes took possession of the country about Smyrna, and built the fort St. Peter. Upon Homur's return to Smyrna, he went to view the new fort, which was not quite finished, and received his mortal wound by an arrow shot from the place. During Homur's life, who was called the prince of Smyrna, the Latins burnt his fleet and took the city. Some historians mention an expedition of the Genoese upon the Asiatic coast, under the doge Vignosi, in the year 1346, wherein they possessed themselves of Scio, Smyrna, and Phoea; but it does not appear that they continued long masters of Smyrna.

After the battle of Angora, wherein Bajazet was defeated, Tamerlane besieged Smyrna, encamping near the above-mentioned fort St. Peter, whither the greatest part of the Christians of Ephesus had retired. Ducas, who has given us an account of this siege, mentions some very singular circumstances; namely, that Tamerlane caused the soldiers to throw

in stones to choke up the entrance of the port; and that he built a tower there, the walls whereof consisted partly of stone, and partly of human skulls, ranged in very exact order. After the retreat of the Tartars, Smyrna remained in the power of Cineites, son of Carasupasi, governor of Ephesus, who had been governor of Smyrna under the Turkish emperor Bajazet: But Mussulman, one of Bajazet's sons looking with an evil eye upon the greatness of Cineites, crossed over into Asia, in the year 1404, with a design to humble him; and Cineites, on his part, made the necessary preparations to oppose his enemy, and strengthened himself by proper alliances; but they made peace without coming to any engagement. Cineites did not succeed so well against Mahomet the First, another son of Bajazet, who came and besieged Smyrna, though it was well fortified, and provided with stores for a long defence: But Cineites, it seems, not thinking himself safe in Smyrna, retired to Ephesus, and the city surrendered after ten days siege. Mahomet caused the place to be dismantled, and demolished a tower that the knights of Rhodes had erected at the entrance of the port; since which time the Turks have remained in peaceable possession of Smyrna, and, instead of the tower destroyed by Mahomet, have built a kind of castle on the left of the entrance into the galley-port which is the ancient port of the city, and probably that which Strabo says could be shut at pleasure, as has been observed already.

The English factory in this city is perhaps the noblest in the world, consisting generally of eighty or a hundred persons, most of them young gentlemen of

the best families, and frequently younger sons of peers. As there is a necessity of serving an apprenticeship of seven years, in order to be entitled to trade to the Levant, it is the custom for persons of fortune to bind their younger sons to some merchant, who, in consideration of three or four hundred pounds sterling, agrees, after the three first years of their apprenticeship are expired, to send them to Smyrna, where they have not only the management of their master's affairs with very plentiful allowances, but are likewise permitted to trade for themselves; whereby they are enabled to live splendidly the rest of their apprenticeship, and to encrease their fortunes by good œconomy, and at length come out of this seminary of merchants, if I may so call it, the best qualified for business of any young persons in the world.

The caravans of Persia are continually arriving at Smyrna, from the beginning of November to May or June, bringing sometimes near two thousand bales of silk a-year, besides various other sorts of merchandise; for it is to be observed, that most part of the raw silk exported from the Grand Signior's dominions is the product of Persia. These silks, with the goats hair of Angora† and Beibazar, are the richest commodities of the Levant; but cotton-wool

† In the campaign of Angora, according to M. Tournefort, they breed the finest goats in the world. They are of a dazzling white; and their hair, which is as fine as silk, naturally curled in locks of eight or nine inches long, is worked up into the finest stuffs, especially camlet; but little of this hair is exported unspun, because the people of the country get their livelihood by spinning it. The workmen of Angora use this thread of goats hair without mixture, but at Brussels they cannot work it in that manner. In England, says the same author, they mix up this

and cotton-yarn make also a considerable article in the trade of Smyrna, besides a vast variety of drugs and other commodities. The Jews have a great share in managing the trade of this city, most of what is bought or sold, passing through their hands; and it must be acknowledged, they have excellent capacities for mercantile affairs.

The neighbourhood of Smyrna is very pleasant, the hills around it being covered with vines, which afford plenty of grapes and a delightful prospect. In the vallies and plains between these hills are the pleasure-houses of the European merchants, agreeably interspersed among little woods of olives and other fruit-trees, whither they usually retire during the summer-season. The country is well stored with game of all kinds, particularly deer and wild hogs, and there is great plenty of wild fowl; so that the Franks here frequently take the diversion of hunting and shooting. Their seas also abound with variety of good fish, and their markets are well supplied with all manner of provisions, but not quite so cheap as in some other parts of Turkey, on account of the populousness of the city, occasioned by the great resort of foreigners. This town is chiefly furnished with water from a stream coming from mount Mimas, conveyed by several aqueducts, two whereof are well built, with stone arches, crossing the valley or deep channel which the brook itself has formed between two hills, on the Northernmost of which are the ruins of the ancient castle. The two chief points or summits

hair in their perriwigs. These fine goats are only to be seen within four or five days journey of Angora and Beibazar, for the breed degenerates if they are carried farther.

of mount Mimas are now called the two brothers, because they seem to resemble each other, being nearly of an equal height, and only separated by a cleft or opening.

Upon the whole, the good company and liberty a foreigner enjoys in Smyrna, and the agreeableness of the adjacent country, make it a pleasant place to reside in; but the pleasure is considerably abated by the excessive heats and the unhealthfulness of the situation*; and above all by the frequent earthquakes that happen there, from which they are scarce ever free two years together, and which have sometimes been felt for thirty or forty days successively. The city has been several times almost entirely destroyed by earthquakes, and in the year 1688 there happened a very dreadful one, by which great part of the houses and castles were overthrown, and four or five thousand persons perished; whereupon the merchants retired to the island of Scio, but returned to Smyrna when it was rebuilt, and

* It may be true in general that the air of Smyrna is unhealthful, but M. Tournefort tells us, that when he was in that city in the year 1702, there was a Venetian consul, one Signior Lupazolo, who was a hundred and eighteen years of age, but how long he had lived there indeed he does not mention; so that I only relate the story as a remarkable instance of longevity. This gentleman used to boast that he was in the third century of his life, having been born the latter end of the sixteenth, and being then alive the beginning of the eighteenth. He was a square, middle-sized man; and M. Tournefort was informed he had had near sixty children by five wives, without reckoning those by his slaves and mistresses; for the good man, it seems, was of an amorous disposition. It is very certain, adds the French traveller, that his eldest son died before him at the age of eighty-five, and the youngest of his daughters was but six years old at that time.

commerce was thereby restored to its former channel.

One curiosity about Smyrna I had almost forgot to mention, which is their large sheep, with tails of an extraordinary size and fatness. They are indeed mere lumps of fat hanging to the rump of the animal, which I may venture to say, without danger of exceeding the truth, often weigh ten or twelve pounds, and sometimes more; but the fat of these rumps is no better than tallow, except that of the lambs, which is esteemed as good as marrow. The sheep are not peculiar to the country near Smyrna, but are common in many parts of the East, especially in Persia, as we are informed by travellers.

Now I have entered upon this subject, I cannot forbear giving some account of the pelican, a sort of fowl very frequent about the seas near Smyrna, which perhaps is the same that Pliny calls *Onocrotalus*, from its making a noise like the braying of an ass. This bird is either white or of a greyish colour, like a common goose, and has a body as big as a swan, but the neck is not so long. It has a beak sixteen or eighteen inches in length, and about two inches broad where it is widest; but when it opens, the under part of the beak, being of a flexible nature, enlarges itself to the breadth of five or six inches. Underneath this beak, near the entrance of the throat, it has a bag of a skinny substance, which, when it is empty, and the bird's mouth is shut, shrinks together like a bladder before it is blown, and is scarce to be perceived; but when it is filled, it stretches to an incredible bigness, so as to contain ten or a dozen quarts of water. In this receptacle

they are said to carry water and fish for their young ones into the desarts and mountains where they breed, chusing unfrequented places for that purpose, as those of the greatest security. The throat of this fowl is large enough, to swallow a carp twelve inches long, and the upper part of its beak terminates in a sharp hook, which perhaps is of service to it in catching fish, on which it chiefly subsists; and its feet are webbed, and consequently fit for swimming. Its gizzard is not of a round fleshy substance, like that of other fowls, but is of a harder nature than the guts, about six inches long, and an inch in diameter. Its lungs are of a membranous texture, sticking fast on each side to the ribs, and of a reddish colour. The modern Greeks call this bird toubana, and the Persians gave it the name of tacob, or the water-drawer. Some say there are two sorts of pelicans, one feeding on fish, which I have been describing; the other a land-fowl, feeding on venomous creatures.

The chameleon is an animal so frequently met with about Smyrna, and esteemed so great a curiosity both by ancient and modern naturalists, that it seems to merit a particular description. This creature is of the lizard kind, but its head is something larger than the common lizard; its back is gibbous, like a hog's; and it has four feet, which are divided into claws, like those of a parrot. It has a long flattish tail, which is of great use to it in climbing*, for by

* Sir George Wheeler tells us, that having caught a little Chameleon, he put it into a glass, so deep that it could not reach the brim with its fore-feet by much, nor take any hold with its claws, and yet it got out and almost escaped; which it did as

that it will hang to the branches of a tree as well as by its feet, and so draw up its whole body. Its tongue is three or four inches in length, of a whitish grisly substance, round as far as the tip, which is hollow, and sharpened like the end of a pestle, and somewhat resembles an elephant's proboscis, or trunk, whence some call it the trunk of the chameleon. This tongue is contained in a sort of sheath joined to the throat, from whence the animal darts it with all imaginable swiftness upon flies that come in its way, which are detained by a glutinous or viscous matter excreted from the tip of it, and by that means drawn into its mouth. These flies are its ordinary food, and signs of them have been discovered in its excrements, as well as in the stomach and intestines of some that have been dissected: but as they will live a great while without taking any visible sustenance, from hence has arisen the vulgar error, that the chameleon lives upon air alone; which indeed they sometimes imbibe; till they are swelled beyond their usual size. The lungs of this animal reach almost the length of his body, consisting of a thin membranous substance, full of small veins; and are divided into two lobes, placed on each side, and filled with air, which being let out in dissection, the lobes grow flaccid and shrink together.

The head of the chameleon is immoveable, except as it turns with the body; but to make amends for this defect, nature has given it very fine eyes, about

he afterwards observed, by standing on its fore-feet, and hoisting itself up backwards, till it caught hold of the edge of the glass with its tail, and by that means lifted up its whole body.

the bigness of a pea, which it can move in a wonderful manner, the one backwards, the other forwards; the one upwards, the other downwards; or can fix one eye on any object, whilst the other moves according to the motion of another object; so that its eyes are quite independent of each other, and capable of all the different motions that can be imagined. The structure of the eyes is also surprising, and well worth the observation of the curious; for they are covered with a skin almost like that of the body, the grain being in circles, diminishing gradually to the centre, where there is a hole no bigger than the head of a pin, through which the light is received. The animal has no ears that can be discovered, but has two little apertures in the head, which serve for nostrils.

But the most astonishing of all things relating to the chameleon, and the most difficult to be accounted for is the faculty it is endued with of changing its colour, and assuming those of the objects near which it is placed. The usual colour of this creature, at least of such as are found about Smyrna, is green, darker towards the back, and lighter towards the belly, inclining to a yellow, with spots sometimes reddish, and sometimes whitish. There are many to be seen about the ruins of the old castle at Smyrna, of a greyish colour, like the stones that are speckled with a whitish moss, in the heaps of which they breed and harbour. One that we took upon a bush was of a bright green, but setting it down upon the ground where there was no grass, it became of a dark-brown colour, exactly like the earth on which it stood. We made several experiments to the same purpose, and found that by covering it a con-

siderable time with a napkin, it would appear whitish, or of a cream-colour; but we never perceived it to change either red or blue, though wrapped in cloth of those colours for several hours together. When we kept it shut up in a box, its colour was usually a mixture of green and yellow; and it appeared blackish by candle-light, though placed upon white paper. Upon being handled or disturbed, it became stained with dark spots, bordering on green, all which would vanish in a little time. Sometimes from a green all over, it became full of black spots; and at other times, when it seemed to be all black, green spots would suddenly appear. In short, we found it far from being true, that it changed its colour according to every object or body near it, as many have imagined; nor could we perceive that its changes were regulated by certain and invariable laws, but seemed rather spontaneous, the same causes not always producing the same effects. This however we constantly experienced, that the animal being placed upon green became green, and upon the dark earth would soon change to the same colour: and, what is equally surprising, we observed, that one hour it seemed to be a mere skin, and the next hour would appear fat, plump, and fleshy. But the causes and manner of these various mutations I leave to be investigated by those who have leisure and curiosity to search into the wonderful secrets of nature*.

* Naturalists are very little agreed as to the reason or manner of the chameleon's changing its colour. Some, as Seneca, maintain it is done by suffusion; others, as Solinus, by reflection; others, as the Cartesians, by the different position of the parts that com-

Soon after our arrival at Smyrna, we determined to pay a visit to the island of Scio, one of the most famous in all the Archipelago, and accordingly hired a vessel to carry us thither the latter end of September, chusing to make our voyage whilst the season continued favourable, and to view the country

pose the skin, which give a different modification to the rays of light; others, as Dr. Goddard, ascribe the change to the grains or globular inequalities of the skin, which in the several postures he thinks may shew several colours, and, when the creature is in full vigour, may have, as he terms it, "*rationem speculi*," the effect of a mirror, and reflect the colours of adjacent bodies. But a latter hypothesis than any of these seems to have the best foundation; for the chameleon being represented as an exceeding lean skiny animal, and yet capable of making itself appear fat and plump at pleasure, it is naturally inferred from hence, that it must have an extraordinary command over its skin, as to tension or laxity; since by swelling its bulk its skin will be filled, the fibres thereof stretched, and the pores lessened, and again by withdrawing its grossness, the skin will be left lank and shrivelled, one part wrapping over another in little plaits or folds, as it is actually represented by some writers. Now the animal having it in its power to fill the skin more or less, has it in its power not only to alter the tone and texture of the fibres, upon which their reflexive quality in a great measure depends; but also to bring parts into sight which before lay concealed, or to conceal such as before lay open, and it is more than probable, that the parts which are ordinarily covered are of a somewhat different colour from those constantly exposed to the air. Thus the chameleon, it is evident, has the power to reflect different-coloured rays from the same parts, also to make certain parts reflect and to prevent others reflecting, and hence that variety, that medley of colours, so surprising in this animal—The ancients entertained many superstitious notions touching the chameleon; and Dr. Shaw tells us, that at this day the Moors and Arabs dry its skin, and suspend it upon their bosoms to prevent the influence of an evil eye.

before the winter had stripped it of its beauty. I thought it best, however, to finish what I had to say concerning Smyrna, before I gave an account of this journey; which, had it been inserted according to order of time, would in some measure have interrupted the foregoing narration. We embarked the 27th of September in the morning, passed by the isles of Vourla the same day, and having safely doubled Cape Carabouron, we arrived in the port of Scio the 28th in the evening.

Scio, Chio, or Chios, called Sakisadaci by the Turks, is an island to the West of Smyrna, about one hundred and twenty miles in circumference, stretching from North to South, and narrowest in the middle; the Southern part of it being called Catomeria, and the Northern Epanomeria. The city of Scio, the capital of the island, is situated about the middle of the Eastern coast, on the edge of the sea, and is large, pleasant, and better built than any of the Levant; for having formerly been in the hands of the Genoese, they very much adorned and embellished the place with handsome structures, and the Sciots still endeavour to imitate their manner of building. What made the town appear to us with more advantage was, that we had seen scarce any but mud-houses all over the Archipelago; whereas here they are generally of stone, and the streets well paved with flints.

The castle of Scio, which was built by the Genoese, stands close to the sea, and commands as well as defends the town and harbour, though there is one part of the town by which it seems to be commanded. It is strengthened with round towers,

and encompassed with a ditch, and has usually a garrison of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, being above a mile in circumference. The houses within this city are all lofty and beautiful, having been built when the Christians were masters of the place, as appears by the arms of the Justiniani and other Genoese families which are yet to be discerned, though they are at present inhabited only by Turks, the city being allotted for the residence of the Jews and Christians.

The port of Scio is the rendezvous of all shipping, either bound from Constantinople to Syria and Egypt, or coming from those countries to Constantinople; and yet it is but an indifferent harbour, the entrance being narrow and dangerous on account of some rocks that are but just covered with water, which could hardly be avoided, were it not for the light-house on the rock of St. Nicholas. The mole, built by the Genoese, is but a sorry one, formed by a jettee not much higher than the surface of the water. There is generally a squadron of Turkish gallees in this harbour.

The island of Scio is very populous, and contains upwards of fifty towns and villages, insomuch that it is computed there are twelve thousand Turks, three thousand Latins, and a hundred thousand Greeks in the country. In time of peace the whole island is under the government of a Cadi, who is appointed by the Mufti; but in war a Bashaw is sent to command the forces. An officer of the Janizaries also resides here, who has under him a hundred and fifty men of that body in time of peace, and three or four hundred in time of war. The peo-

ple who pay the capitation-tax in this island are divided into three classes, the highest of which pay ten crowns a head annually, the next five crowns, and the lowest two crowns and a half. The Turks allow the Christians to elect twelve deputies or consuls of their own number in the city, to regulate other inferior taxes, and to take care of the affairs of the community; and in each town or village six are chosen, who administer justice, and decide most of their differences, without application to the Cadi.

To have a just notion of the present state of religion in the island of Scio, and how different it was in the last century, it will be necessary to look back to the year 1694, when, on the 28th of April, the Venetian captain-general came before the town of Scio with fourteen thousand men, and began to attack the castle towards the sea, (the only place of strength throughout the country) which surrendered in five days time, though the garrison consisted of eight hundred Turks, supported by above a thousand more, who could throw themselves into it on the land-side without the least opposition. The next year the Turkish fleet, commanded by the Captain-Bashaw Mezomorto, defeated that of the Venetians near the islands of Spalmadori, which lie between Scio and Cape Carabouron; upon the news of which overthrow the Venetian garrison of Scio precipitately abandoned the place, leaving behind them their cannon and ammunition; and fled in such disorder, that it became a common saying in the island, That the soldiers took every fly to be a turbant.

Hereupon the Turks entered Scio as a conquered country, but the Greeks had the address to avoid

their resentment by throwing all the blame of the revolt upon the Latins; and the Turks hanged up four of the most considerable Latin inhabitants, who had borne the chief offices of the island. They also prohibited the Latins wearing hats, a liberty they had been used to in this place, obliging them to be shaved, and to quit the Genoese habits; they were likewise commanded respectfully to salute the meanest Turk they met, and not allowed to enter the city on horseback. The Latin bishop Leonardo Baharini, and above sixty families of the greatest repute, followed the Venetians to the Morea, where the bishop died soon after his promotion to another see; and the marks of esteem they shewed this prelate increased the suspicion the Turks had conceived, that he and others of the Latin communion had encouraged the expedition of the Venetians to this island.

Before this affair happened, the public exercise of the Roman catholic religion was allowed in Scio, through the intercession of the king of France. Divine service was performed there with the same ceremonies as in the midst of France or Italy; the priests carried the host to the sick at noon-day without any interruption; the procession of Corpus Christi was made with the utmost solemnity, the clergy walking under canopies in their proper habits, and bearing censers in their hands; in short, the Latins were so well established, and enjoyed such an uncommon liberty, that the Turks used to give Scio the name of little Rome. But these of the Romish communion being looked upon as concerned in the above-mentioned invasion of the Venetians, they were deprived of all their privileges, and most of

their churches were demolished, or converted to other uses. The Latins had no less than seven churches in the city, besides several in the country; they had also the liberty of saying mass in ten or twelve Greek churches, and some gentlemen had chapels in their country-houses: but their cathedral is now turned into a mosque, as is likewise the church of the Dominicans; that of the Jesuits, dedicated to St. Anthony, is made an inn; those of the Capuchins and Recollets, and two others dedicated to the lady of Loretto and St. Anne, are laid level with the ground. The Capuchins had also another church at a little distance from the town, where the French were usually buried, but it has shared the same fate with the former. The Latin priests were likewise made subject to the capitation tax, but they have been since exempted upon the application of the French vice-consul, who resides at Scio, and has a large chapel, whither the Latins resort freely to divine service. There are still several Romish priests in the city, and some religious of France and Italy who have lost their convents; and also some nuns, who are under the direction of the Jesuits, but not cloistered any more than in other parts of the Levant.

Whilst a Latin bishop resided at Scio, he had an allowance of two hundred crowns a-year from the Pope, besides many considerable perquisites. The Greek bishop continues in the same good circumstances he was in before the enterprize of the Venetians, having above three hundred churches under him, and the island is full of chapels. The Greek monasteries in Scio enjoy very handsome revenues; but the most considerable is that of Neamone, or

the New Solitude, about five miles from the city. In this house there are a hundred and fifty or two hundred caloyers, or monks, who eat together only on Sundays and holidays, and provide for themselves at all other times, the house allowing them nothing but bread, cheese, and wine; many of them however, being men of fortune, keep their horses and live voluptuously. This convent is so large, that it looks more like a town than a religious house, being very spacious, and built in form of a castle. It is said to be endowed with an eighth part of the revenue of the whole island, being paid annually above fifty thousand crowns in money, besides the continual addition made to its income by gifts and legacies. Even every member of the society helps to enrich it, paying a hundred crowns at his admission, and being obliged at his death to leave two thirds of what he is worth to the monastery; nor can his relations enjoy the other third, but upon condition of entering into the same community. This convent stands on a little hill well cultivated, but in a very solitary place, surrounded by rugged and disagreeable mountains; and such situations the Greeks generally choose to build their monasteries upon, contrary to the practice of the Catholics, whose religious houses, it is observed, are commonly built on the most delightful spot of the country. As this house is rich, the Grand Signior comes in for his share; for it pays every year five hundred crowns to the capitation-tax.

The church belonging to the convent I am speaking of, though not luminous, is reckoned one of the best in all the Levant. It is entirely in the Go-

thic taste, and was built, as the monks tell us, by order of the emperor Constantine Monomachus, about the year of our Lord 1050. The paintings here, as in most of the Greek churches, are wretched performances; but each saint has his name wrote at the bottom of the piece, which is very necessary to prevent mistakes. The columns and chapiters are of jasper, dug in this very island; but they are not disposed to advantage, nor has the stone any manner of lustre: there are also some pillars of porphyry, sent from Constantinople by the above-mentioned emperor, whose picture we likewise met with amongst the other paintings. As old as this church is, it is kept in such good repair, and looks so fresh, that one would hardly take it for an ancient structure, were it not for the taste in which it was built. They tell us of many miracles wrought in this church, and shew us several relics which they preserve with great care and veneration, particularly a piece of the true cross, and a thumb of St. John the Baptist.

As for the island of Scio in general, it is rugged and mountainous; nor are the mountains covered with wood, as they were formerly, but naked and unpleasant; in some places however there are abundance of orange, citron, olive, mulberry, pomegranate, and myrtle-trees, not to mention those which afford mastich and turpentine. The country produces some corn but not enough for the use of the inhabitants, so that they are obliged to supply their wants from the coast of Natolia; and for this reason the Christians cannot long maintain this island, or perhaps any other in the Archipelago, against the

Turks, unless they are masters of Candia or the Morea, from whence they may furnish it with provisions; for if the Turks prohibit corn being imported into the islands, they must soon submit or starve; and by this means Sultan Bajazet reduced many of them, as Cantacuzenus reports.

But if Ceres has not been very kind to the Sciots, Bacchus, or his son Oenopion at least, has in some measure made them amends; for they have such plenty of excellent wine, as to export some of it to the neighbouring islands. It is said that Oenopion first taught the Sciots the culture of the vine, and that the first red wine was made in this country. Virgil and Horace * knew very well the goodness of the wines of Scio; and Strabo speaks of them as the best in Greece, especially those of that part of the island called Ariousia, whence the *Vina Ariusia* or *Arvisia* of the Latin writers. Pliny often mentions this admirable liquor, and quotes Varro to prove that the wine of Scio was prescribed at Rome as a stomachic. Athenæus is more particular as to its nature and qualities, and says that it helps digestion, makes those who drink it grow fat, and exceeds all other wines in its delicious flavour. In short, what vogue

* Horace makes frequent mention of the wine of this island, both in his odes and satires; and Virgil takes notice of it in one of his eclogues:

“*Vina novam fundam calathis Arvisia nectar.*” Ecl. V. 71.

Two goblets will I crown with sparkling wine,

The gen'rous vintage of the Chian vine,

These will I pour to thee, and make the nectar thine,

DRYDEN.

it was in appears from hence, that Cæsar regaled his friends with it in his triumphs and sacrifices to Jupiter and the other deities.

In Scio they plant their vines on the hills, and cut their grapes in August, letting them dry in the sun for seven or eight days after they are gathered; and having pressed them, they set the liquor to ferment in tubs in a warm close cellar. The vineyards in greatest repute are those of Mesta, a village in that part of the country called Ariousia by Strabo, as mentioned above, from whence the Ancients had their nectar; and to this day the inhabitants have a wine they call by the same name, but the grapes it is made of have a styptic quality, which gives it such a roughness as makes it difficult to swallow. When they make their best wine, they mix their black grapes with some white ones, which smell like the kernel of a peach.

They have several plantations of olives in Scio, but their best crops do not produce above two hundred hogsheads of oil. They make annually about thirty thousand pound weight of silk, great part of which is used in the island, in the manufactures of velvet, damask, and rich stuffs, which they export to Asia, Egypt, and Barbary. Every pound of silk is subject to a duty of four timins, that is twenty-pence, at the custom-house, which is paid by the buyer. The duties laid on the several commodities of the island are rented at twenty-five thousand crowns, payable to the chief treasurer of Constantinople.

Wool, cheese, and figs, are considerable articles in the traffic of Scio, especially the last; for besides what they use in making brandy, they export great

quantities of them to the adjacent islands. These figs they cultivate and ripen, as they do in many other islands of the Archipelago, by a peculiar art, which the Ancients called caprification; but they are far inferior in goodness to the figs of Italy, Spain, and Provence, being preserved in ovens, the heat whereof deprives them of their delicious taste. Some modern naturalists have looked upon the art of caprification as a mere chimera, but M. Tournefort has put the matter out of doubt, by giving us the whole process of it, as he learned it in the island of Zia, where it is practised; and I find that gentleman's observations perfectly correspond with those we made at Scio relating to the same affair, and with the information we received from a native of that island, who had been many years employed in this extraordinary sort of culture; of which the following account cannot fail of being acceptable to the curious.

In order to understand rightly this husbandry of figs, we are to observe, that in most of the islands of the Archipelago they have two sorts of fig-trees to manage; the first called Ornos, from the old Greek Erinos, a wild fig-tree, in Latin *Caprificus**; the second the domestic or garden fig-tree. The wild sort bears three kinds of fruit†, Fornites, Cratitires, and Orni, of absolute necessity towards ripening the garden-fig. The Fornites appear in

* "*Caprificus vocatur è sylvestri genere ficus nunquam maturescens, sed quod ipsa non habet aliis tribuens.*" Plin. Nat. Hist. L. b. XV. Cap. 19.

† "*Caprifici triferæ sunt. Primo fætu sequens evocatur, sequenti tertius: hoc fici caprificantur.*" Plin. Lib. XVI. Cap. 27.

August, and hold to November without ripening; wherein breed small worms, which turn to a sort of gnats, nowhere to be seen but about these trees. In October and November these gnats make a puncture into the second fruit, called Cratitires, which do not shew themselves till towards the end of September; and the Fornites gradually fall off after the gnats have left them. The Cratitires remain on the tree till May, and inclose the eggs deposited in them by the Fornites when they made the afore-said puncture. In May the third sort of fruit, called Orni, the biggest of them all, begins to appear; which, after it is grown to a certain size, and its bud begins to open, is pricked in that part by the gnats issuing from the Cratitires.

It sometimes happens that the gnats of the Cratitires do not come forth so soon as the Orni of the very same tree are disposed to receive them; in which case the husbandman is obliged to bring some Cratitires from another tree, and fix them at the ends of the branches of that fig-tree whose Orni are in a fit disposition to be pricked by the gnats: If this be neglected, the Orni fall, and the gnats of the Cratitires afterwards fly away. We may naturally suppose it requires a thorough acquaintance with this sort of culture, to know the critical juncture when such assistance is necessary; and in order to this, the bud of the fig must be observed with the greatest attention; for that part not only indicates the time that the prickers are to issue forth, but also when the fig is to be pricked successfully. If the bud be too hard and compact, the gnat cannot lay

its eggs; and the fig drops when the bud is too much expanded.

None of these sorts of fruit are good to eat, and are only serviceable in ripening the fruit of the garden fig-tree after the following manner. During the months of June and July, the peasants take the Orni, when their gnats are ready to break out, and carry them to the garden fig-tree: If they do not mind the time with the utmost exactness, the Orni drop; and the fruit of the domestic-tree not ripening, for want of its proper puncture, will likewise fall soon after. The husbandman is so sensible of this, that he never lets a morning pass without carefully inspecting his Orni, and transferring such of them as are in forwardness to his garden fig-trees; otherwise he would lose his crop. Sometimes indeed they supply the want of Orni, or remedy their own neglect, by strewing over their fig-trees a quantity of the Ascholymbros, a plant common enough in some of the islands, whose fruit contains gnats proper for pricking the figs; but perhaps they are the very gnats of the Orni, which are used to hover about this plant and feed upon its flowers. In short, by the care of the peasant and his good management of the Orni, the garden-figs become ripe in about six weeks after they have received the puncture of the insect. These figs are very good when fresh gathered; but after they have dried them in the sun for some time, they put them into ovens, whereby they lose their fine taste, as I have observed already; though on the other hand they have this advantage, that the heat destroys the eggs discharged in them by the gnats of the Orni, from whence small worms would otherwise be

infallibly produced, and the fruit damaged and consumed*.

Now I am treating of the natural history of Scio, it would be unpardonable to omit giving a particular account of its lentisks, which are carefully cultivated, and yield large quantities of a valuable gum called mastich; which indeed is not peculiar to, but is chiefly the product of this island, and esteemed much better than that of any other country. There are twenty villages in Scio where they have plantations of lentisks, each of which villages is obliged annually to pay to the Grand Signior a certain quantity of mastich, according to the number of trees they cultivate; the whole amounting to two hundred and eighty-six chests, each chest weighing four-score oques, the oque being about two pounds eleven ounces English. Those who happen not to gather as much mastich as is required of them by the government, are obliged to borrow of their neighbours; and those who have any overplus either sell it privately, or else to the officers of the customs at

* After M. Tournefort has given the like account of caprification, as practised in the islands of the Archipelago, he makes this reflection: "What an expense of time and pain is here for a fig, and that but an indifferent one at last! I could not sufficiently admire, says he, the patience of the Greeks, busied above two months in carrying these prickers from one tree to another." But their industry, it seems, is amply rewarded; for one of their trees usually bears between two and three hundred pounds of figs, whereas those of France seldom yield above twenty-five or thirty. "The prickers, continues the same ingenious traveller, contribute perhaps to the maturity of the fruit of the garden fig-tree, by causing the nutritious juice to extravasate, whose vessels they tear asunder in depositing their eggs. Perhaps too, besides their eggs, they leave behind them some sort of liquor, proper

an under rate; for if a person be caught disposing of his mastich to any one else, or carrying it to such towns as do not plant the tree, he is sent to the galleys and his effects confiscated. In a word, all the lentisks are the property of the Grand Signior, the husbandman having but a small part of the gum for his labour; nor can the trees be sold, but upon condition that the purchaser pay the usual quantity of mastich to the Sultan: The land is commonly sold, and the trees reserved.

The lentisk or mastich-tree spreads wide and in a circular manner, and is ten or twelve feet high, its branches growing crooked and bending towards the ground; the largest trunks are about a foot in diameter, covered with rugged bark, of a greyish colour; and the leaves are disposed in couples, growing on small ribs hollowed like a gutter. They are about an inch long, half an inch broad in the middle, and narrow at each end; and from the juncture of the leaves grow flowers in bunches like grapes, as the fruit also does, and in each berry there is a white kernel. These trees blow in May, but the fruit is not ripe till autumn or winter.

The beginning of August they make incisions in the bark of these trees, cutting it cross-ways with

“ to ferment greatly with the milk of the figs, and make the flesh
“ of them tender. Our figs in Provence, and even at Paris, rip-
“ en much sooner for having their buds pricked with a straw dip-
“ ped in olive-oil. Plums and pears pricked by some insect do
“ likewise ripen much faster for it, and the flesh round such punc-
“ ture is better tasted than the rest. It is not to be disputed but
“ that a considerable change happens to the contexture of fruits so
“ pricked, just the same as to the parts of animals pierced with
“ any sharp instrument.”

large knives, but they do not meddle with the young branches. Next day the juice distils in small tears, forming the grains of mastich, which gradually harden on the ground, and are then swept up and sifted. The height of their harvest is in the middle of August; and they gather abundance if it be dry serene weather, but if it be rainy the tears are all lost. Towards the end of September they make fresh incisions, but these yield much less mastich than the former, and perhaps not altogether of so good a quality. After it is sufficiently dried and hardened, they sift it, as I said before, in order to separate it from the dust and filth that mixes with it on the ground; and the dust that flies from it sticks so fast to the faces of those employed in this business, that they are forced to use oil to wash it off.

Sometimes an Aga is sent on purpose from Constantinople to receive the mastich due to the Grand Signior, or else the custom-house officers of Scio are appointed to receive it; who give notice to the several villages to get ready their respective quotas, and the peasants bring them in accordingly. The Cadi of Scio claims three chests as a perquisite, the clerk who keeps the account demands another, and the officer who weighs it at the custom-house takes a toll out of every parcel that goes through his hands; so that when the Sultan and all are served, I am afraid there is little left to reward the labour of the industrious planter. This sort of husbandry however is esteemed so beneficial to the public, that the planters of the lentisks, who are Greek Christians, pay but half the capitation-tax, and are allowed to

wear white turbants as well as the Turks, which is looked upon as an extraordinary privilege.

Mastich is very much chewed in Scio both by the Greeks and Turks, especially the women. The ladies of the Grand Signior's seraglio at Constantinople consume great quantities of it, chewing it by way of amusement, or to preserve their teeth and gums, and sweeten their breath, especially in a morning fasting. The Turks also burn it among other perfumes, and sometimes put a few grains of it in their bread to give it an agreeable flavour. This gum is moderately warm, and of a dry astringent quality; so that it strengthens the stomach, stays vomiting, stops issues of blood, and is serviceable in all tickling coughs and cattarhs. It also strengthens the reins, and is a good cleanser, and for that reason is prescribed in seminal weaknesses. The best is in small granules, and of a whitish colour, though age makes it turn yellowish: it is of a fine scent, and enters into the composition of several ointments. There is likewise a kind of mastich brought from Egypt, which serves to sophisticate camphor; but that of Scio, as I before observed, is the best in the world.

The Terebinthus, or turpentine-tree, grow sin Scio without culture, on the highway-side, or on the borders of the vineyards. It is as tall and spreading as the lentisk, has an ash-coloured bark, and leaves of a bright green, about two inches long and pointed at both ends, which have an aromatic taste and is of an astringent quality. It is remarkable in this tree, as well as in the lentisk, that such branches as bear flowers have no fruit, and such as bear fruit have generally no flowers. These flowers shew themselves

towards the end of April, before there is any appearance of leaves, and grow in clusters at the extremity of the branches. Each flower has five Stamina, the apices of which are yellowish, filled with Farina or dust of the same colour. The fruit also appears in clusters like bunches of grapes, three or four inches long, which rise from the center of a cup consisting of five greenish pointed leaves. Each embryo afterwards turns to a firm cod, covered with an orange-coloured skin, somewhat acrid and resinous; and the cod incloses a white fleshy kernel, wrapped in a reddish coat.

The turpentine is drawn from these trees by wounding their trunks with a hatchet in the months of August and September, and flat stones are placed under the trees to receive it. This liquor is of a whitish colour, bordering a little on green; and is a most excellent natural balsam, and very detergent, being prescribed as such in abscesses and ulcerations. It promotes expectoration, and is of great service in disorders of the breast and lungs; but it is particularly famous for cleansing the urinary passages, and accordingly prescribed in obstructions of the reins, gonorrhœas, &c. It is a very great diuretic, and for that reason care should be taken not to give it to persons troubled with the stone; for in that case all medicines of this nature do rather harm than good, as has been frequently found by experience. The turpentine of Scio is indisputably the best, but it is not much in use on account of its scarcity*,

* The turpentine of Stratsbourg, the produce of the abies of silver-fir, is that most commonly used amongst us, and by many

a thousand or twelve hundred weight of it being the most that is annually produced in the whole island.

The beginning of October we took a ride to Cardamyla, a village about eighteen miles North of Scio, beyond port Dolphin, both which places are mentioned by Thucydides, and have retained their ancient names. Five miles from Cardamyla, in a narrow valley, are the ruins of an ancient temple, which are scarce discernable; but to whom it was dedicated, is now entirely uncertain, though it is commonly conjectured to have been a temple of Neptune. A little below this place a fine spring issues out of a rock, which perhaps gave occasion to the building of this edifice; but it is not probable that this was the fountain of Helen, wherein that princess used to bathe, according to Stephens the geographer. It forms a pretty cascade as it falls down the rock, and makes the valley through which it runs exceeding fruitful; but in all this valley we could not find the spring that M.

it is preferred to that of Venice, from which it is distinguished by its green hue, fragrant smell, and citron flavour. Properly speaking, we have no such thing as Venice turpentine; for though there was a turpentine anciently brought from Venice, what now goes by that name comes from Dauphinè: it is liquid, of the consistence of a thick syrup, and whitish; and flows from the larch-tree, either spontaneously or by incision. That flowing naturally is a kind of balsam, not inferior in virtue to that of Peru, for which it is frequently substituted. That drawn by incision, after the tree has ceased to yield spontaneously, is of considerable use in several arts, and it is of this that varnish is chiefly made. The turpentine of Bourdeaux is white and thick as honey: it does not ooze from the tree in the manner it is sent to us, but is a composition of several ingredients.

Thevenot speaks of, which had thirty steps to go down to it, of beautiful marble: not that I dispute that traveller's veracity in any thing that he assures us he has been an eye-witness of, but in this case he was undoubtedly imposed upon by the manuscript from whence he took great part of his description of Scio. Perhaps the writer of that account had an eye to the fountain of Sclavia, which runs on a marble bottom in one of the pleasantest spots of the whole island, and is shewn to strangers as one of its wonders.

There is an excellent spring near the chapel of St. Elijah, which is built on the top of the highest mountain in Scio, near a village called Spartonda; and on the same hill we find the ruins of an ancient castle. Near Volisso, we were informed, there are several hot springs, and others about the village of Calantra. As for the spring that Vitruvius speaks of, which deprived of their senses all who drank of it, and for that reason had an inscription placed over it by way of caution to passengers, the inhabitants of the island are utterly ignorant of any such thing, and therefore we may look upon it as an idle story. Nor could we get the least information of the Scio-earth mentioned by the same author, and also by Dioscorides: but, to say the truth, the people of this country trouble themselves very little about its natural history.

There is great plenty of partridges in Scio, and they may well be reckoned among the curiosities of the island. They are bred up to be much tamer than our poultry, and there are peasants in the several villages who are paid for leading them into the fields

in a morning to feed, each family that has partridges trusting its stock to a common keeper, who perhaps has many hundreds under his care, and in the evening draws them together with a whistle, and brings them home again to their respective masters. These creatures know the call of their keeper so well, that let another person whistle as long as he pleases, not one bird will follow him; but many of them are so tame at home, as to suffer themselves to be touched and stroked by any stranger. This perhaps may seem incredible to those who have not heard of such a thing before, but for the truth of it I appeal to all travellers who have visited this island*.

Scio has given birth to several eminent men, as Ion the tragic poet, Theopompus the historian, and Theocritus the sophist; and even Homer himself was a native of this country, as the Sciots pretend. To this day they shew a place which they call his school, at the foot of Mount Epos, by the sea-side, about four miles from the city of Scio. It is a flat rock, in which has been hewn a sort of round bason, near seven yards in diameter, the edge made so as to sit on; and in the middle of it is left a piece of the rock cut square, three feet high and almost as broad, on the sides whereof certain animals have been carved, but are too much disfigured to be known at

* There is not one traveller, that I know of, who does not confirm this account of the partridges of Scio, nor need we go far, it seems, to meet with this curiosity; for M. Tournefort assures us, that he has seen a man in Provence, who used to lead droves of partridges into the country, and call them to him when he pleased: he would take them up with his hand, put them into his bosom, and then dismiss them to pick up a livelihood with the rest.

present, though some imagine they can discover the resemblance of oxen, wolves, and lions.

It is almost impossible, as has been observed before to determine the place of Homer's birth; which he himself seems to have industriously concealed, not making the least mention of it in any of his works; perhaps because he thought it too obscure to do him any honour, or rather because he was not so considerable in his own time, * or so vain as to think it of any importance to the world to know where he first received his breath. Leo Allatius, a very learned man, and a native of Scio, has taken a great deal of pains to prove Homer to be of this island; and it is highly probable the honour belongs either to Scio or Smyrna. Perhaps the above-mentioned school was cut in the rock by the Homerides, who are said

* It is an observation of a modern historian, "That a little distance of time, when a man's infirmities are forgot, is as necessary towards acquiring the reputation of a great poet, as to form a complete hero or saint: the world is generally so good as to forget a man's failings when he is dead; their enmity seems to be buried with him; they usually remember only the bright side of his character, and what in his life-time might be looked on as blemishes, may pass for beauties when he lies in the grave." This proceeds from a sort of envy, which makes us unwilling to acknowledge any ones merit whilst he is alive, for fear of eclipsing our own: so true is that of Horace,

"Virtutem incolumem odimus,

"Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi." Lib. III. Od. 24.

— Envious we despise

Virtue when present; when it flies,

Stand and gaze after it with longing eyes. } CREECH.

And to the same purpose Velleius Paterculus says excellently: "Præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur; et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus."

to have been the descendants of Homer, and are universally allowed to have inhabited this island. This retirement might serve for young people who were willing to instruct themselves in the works of this poet, and may have been the place where they repeated their lessons, the master sitting on the cubical piece of the rock, and the scholars on the brim of the bason.

It is surprising to consider through what a number of hands the works of Homer passed, before they were brought into their present condition. Josephus says, that from the first moment they appeared, they were commonly got by heart, without writing them down, and so preserved by way of tradition. Plutarch tells us, that when Lycurgus, the famous legislator of Lacedæmon, sailed to Asia, he there had the first sight of Homer's works; and observing that they abounded in maxims of state and rules of morality, he transcribed and carried with him a complete collection into Peloponnesus; for the reputation of these poems was not established in Greece, and but a few scattered fragments were handed about, till Lycurgus published them entire. Thus they were in danger of being lost as soon as they were produced, by the misfortune of the age, a want of taste in learning, or the manner in which they were left to posterity, when they fell into the hands of Lycurgus, and they were of vast service to that legislator, by shewing the ill effects of discord, uniting the minds of the people he had to deal with, and making them in love with the constitution he was about to raise: and therefore as Homer owed the publication of his work to Lycurgus, we must

also grant, that Lycurgus owed in some degree the enforcement of his laws to the works of Homer.

At their first appearance in Greece, they were not digested into a regular body, but remained, as they were brought from Ionia, in several detached pieces, which had titles given them according to the subject on which they treated; one being called The Battle of the Ships, another The Death of Dolon, a third The Valour of Agamemnon, a fourth The Grott of Calypso; and the like. These were not entitled books, but rhapsodies; from whence those who sung them were called rhapsodists. In this manner they began to be dispersed, whilst the history they contained, the glory they ascribed to Greece in general, the geographical description they gave of it, and the compliment they paid to every little state by an honourable mention of it, so influenced the Grecians, that they were transcribed and sung with general approbation.

But while the works of this great poet were suffered to lie in an unconnected manner, the chain of the narration was not always perceived, so that they lost much of their force and beauty by not being read in their proper order. The honour of their regulation and disposition fell to the share of Athens in the time of Solon, who himself made a law for their recital. It was then that Pisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, (as he was called) first put together the confused pieces of Homer's poems, and divided them into two different works, the Iliad and the Odyssey; digesting each according to the author's design, to make their plans more evident, and distinguishing each again into twenty-four books, to which the

twenty-four letters were afterwards prefixed. Plato indeed describes this undertaking to Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus; but be that as it will, Athens still claims the honour of rescuing the father of learning from the injuries of time, of having restored Homer to himself, and giving the world a view of him in his perfection.

About the time that this new edition of Homer was published in Athens, there was one Cynæthus, a learned rhapsodist, who settled first at Syracuse in that employment; and as he is supposed to have been an assistant in the edition, it may also be imagined he was the first that carried it abroad. But it was not long preserved correct among his followers, they committed mistakes in their repetition and transcripts, and even presumed to alter some lines, and to interpolate others. Thus the poems of Homer were in danger of being utterly defaced; but even kings and philosophers interposed to save such valuable works from destruction, and to restore them to their primitive beauty.

The first of these was Alexander the Great, for whom the writings of Homer seem peculiarly calculated, as no books more enliven or flatter personal valour, which was conspicuous in that conqueror, even to excess. By his command, or perhaps to pay him a compliment, Aristotle endeavoured to purge the Iliad from all the errors and interpolations which had crept into it: and so far was Alexander from thinking it a matter of small importance, that he himself afterwards assisted in a strict review of it with Anaxarchus and Callisthenes. The review being finished, he laid up the work in a rich casket,

which was found among the spoils of Darius; and from this circumstance it was called the Edition of the Casket. In a word, Alexander was a great admirer of Homer's Iliad, took all opportunities of reading it, and is said to have laid it under his pillow when he slept; esteeming it, according to Pliny, as "*pretiosissimum humani animi opus*," the most excellent and valuable work that the mind of man was capable of producing.*

* What an unhappy influence the works of Homer had upon Alexander, appears in the following remarkable instance. That prince having spent two months in the siege of Gaza, during which he received two dangerous wounds, was so exasperated, that upon taking the place he treated all he found in it with inexcusable cruelty, putting ten thousand men to the sword, and selling the rest, with their wives and children, into slavery. When Betis the governor, who had bravely defended the place for his master Darius, and who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, the young monarch, instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, ordered his heels to be bored, and a rope drawn through them; which being tied behind a chariot, he caused him to be dragged round the city till he expired; boasting that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who, as Homer relates, thus dragged Hector round the walls of Troy. The example was barbarous, but much more so the imitation; for it was only Hector's body that Achilles dragged round Troy, but Alexander thus treated Betis while alive, and that for no other reason, but because he had faithfully and valiantly served his master in the post committed to his charge; on which account he ought to have been admired and rewarded even by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner. And Alexander would have acted accordingly, says Dr. Prideaux, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of Homer, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror having the Iliad of Homer in great admiration, and finding Achilles to be the hero of that poem, he thought every thing said of

The reputation of Homer's works was very great in Egypt in the reigns of the Ptolemies. These kings, being originally of Greek extraction, always retained a passion for that country. The men, the books, and every thing relating to it, were highly esteemed in their court; they preserved the language in their family, and trained up their children under Grecian tutors, the most considerable of whom were appointed for revisers of Homer. The first of these was Zenodotus of Ephesus, library-keeper to the first Ptolemy; who, being both a poet and a grammarian, was well qualified for such an undertaking: but neither his copy nor that of his disciple Aristophanes of Byzantium, satisfying Aristarchus, (who was preceptor to Euergetes son of Ptolemy Philometor) he set himself to make another correction of Homer, which he executed with extraordinary judgment and learning. In some verses he restored the genuine readings, entirely rejected others which he marked with obelisks as spurious, and went through the whole with such industrious accuracy, that his performance met with a general approbation, notwithstanding the opposition of some envious writers.

Nor was it the ambition of Egypt only, to have a correct edition of the works of Homer. We find in the life of the poet Aratus, that having finished a copy of the Odyssey, he was sent for by Antiochus

him was worthy his imitation, and the readiest way to make him a hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire he had of making his name in like manner celebrated in after-ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings, see Prideaux's Connection, Vol. II. p. 699; and Rollin's Ancient History, Vol. VI.

king of Syria, and entertained at his court till he had also completed a copy of the Iliad. We likewise read of others that were published with the names of countries, such as the Massaliotic and Sinopic; in-
somuch that, as different cities contended for the honour of Homer's birth, different countries have some reason to contend for the true edition of his works. Of the several reviews, however, that were made of the poems of Homer, the greatest honour seems due to Egypt, if we may judge from that universal approbation which the performance of Aristarchus received; and if it be not his edition that we have at present, we know not to whom it ought to be ascribed. But it is time to return from this digression.

Besides the school of Homer, the Sciots pretend to shew his dwelling-house, where they tell us he composed most of his poems. The reader will naturally suppose it is in a ruinous condition, when he considers that Homer lived almost a thousand years before the Christian æra. When Leo Allatius went to visit this house, he tells us he found nothing but a few stones mouldering away with age, over which he and his companions wept for satisfaction. These stones are to be seen in the North part of the island near Volisso, which Thucydides and the author of Homer's life call Bolissus. Volisso is situated in the midst of the Arvisian field, from whence the nectar of the Ancients, as before observed; and perhaps this liquor might not a little elevate the poet's genius, for it is thought he was no enemy to a cheerful glass.*

* It is inferred from Homer's praises of wine, his copious gob-

Some of the medals struck in honour of Homer by the ancient inhabitants of this island are still to be found in the collections of the curious; one in particular, where he is represented sitting on a chair, with a scroll or volume open in his hand, and reading intently; which, by the way, is a pretty good proof that he was not always blind, if it were necessary to prove what every line of his works sufficiently demonstrate. The reverse of this medal is a sphinx, the symbol of Scio.

I shall conclude my account of Scio with a few observations on the persons and manners of its present inhabitants. The natives are generally tall well-shaped men, but of no very agreeable aspect; the women however are extremely beautiful, and their charms are set off by the distinguishing neatness of their dress. Besides all this, they have wit, vivacity, and good humour to recommend them; but they are sensible of their beauty and of their amiable qualifications, and are not destitute of that vanity to which the fair sex are so exceedingly addicted. The manners of the Sciots are not much different from those of the Genoese, who formerly had the government of the island; but they have retained nothing of the Italian jealousy, for the women here enjoy their full liberty, both in the city and country.

lets, and pleasing description of banquets, that he loved good cheer and good company; and the same observation was made in Horace's time, as he himself tells us:

“*Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.*” Epist. XIX. Lib. I.

Homer in praise of wine profuse,
No doubt lov'd well the balmy juice.

They spend much of their time in conversation or play, in singing and gazing at their doors and windows, especially in the evenings; and a stranger may stop and address himself to any of them without offence: they will even chat and laugh with him as freely as if they had been acquainted many years. Their very nuns allow themselves more than ordinary liberties*; they purchase a chamber on being admitted into the house, go abroad when they think fit, and leave the convent at pleasure. Their usual employment is embroidering in gold, silver, or silk, in which the Greek women are very skilful; and they work exceeding pretty flowers upon their purses, handkerchiefs, pockets, and things of the like nature.

Learning is quite out of repute in Scio, a general ignorance prevailing over the whole island; though the natives have naturally a sharp wit, and are very cunning, not to say over-reaching, in their dealings. They are apt to drink to excess, and are much given to their pleasures. On Sundays and holidays, in the evening, both men and women get together and dance in a ring, which they frequently continue till morning as well in the city as villages; and if a stranger has a mind to partake of the diversion, he is readily admitted. In short, they lead merry lives,

* They did the same, it seems, when M. Thevenot was at Scio; for that grave gentleman tells us, that he went into one of their nunneries, where he saw both Christians and Turks, and having entered the chamber of one of the sisters, he found her kind, as he himself expresses it, even beyond the bounds of Christian charity.

as Greeks generally do; and if they are slaves, they seem to be happy in this respect, that they know nothing of the matter: but, to say the truth, their slavery is little more than nominal, there being no part of Turkey where the Greeks enjoy greater liberties.

Having satisfied our curiosity at Scio, and the weather continuing favourable, we sailed from thence the 10th of October, for the island of Samos; and the wind being North-West, the fairest that could blow for our purpose, we came to an anchor the next day at noon in the port of Vati. The town of Vati stands at the foot of a hill, near a mile from the harbour, and consists of about three hundred houses, and six or seven chapels, all very mean buildings, though this is one of the most considerable places in the island. The port is the best and safest in the whole country, and is capable of receiving a numerous fleet; and on the Western shore of it was anciently a large town, as we may judge from the extensive ruins that are scattered there, though no traces of magnificence appear amongst them. The port of Seitan, which in the Turkish language signifies the devil, lies on the Western part of the island; and that of Tigani on the South, which was the port to the ancient city of Samos; but neither of these is so secure as that of Vati.

The island of Samos is about an hundred miles in circumference, stretching from East to West; and is separated on the East from the continent of Asia by a very narrow strait, called the Little Boghas; and on the West from the largest of the isles called Four-

ni, by a channel about ten miles broad, called the Great Boghas. All ships bound from Constantinople to Syria or Egypt, after touching at Scio, pass through one of these strait; as do also the vessels coming from those countries to Constantinople; for which reason they used to be much infested by the corsairs.

The Little Boghas is narrowest just over against a high mountain in Natolia called Mycale by the Ancients, and at present the mountain of Samson, from an adjacent village of the same name, which probably was built on the ruins of Priene, the birth place of Bias*, one of the seven Grecian sages. This moun-

* We know very little of this philosopher; but we have an account of a stratagem of his, whereby he obliged Halyattes, king of Lydia, to raise the siege of Priene, his native city. The place was hard pressed with famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fastened, and contrived a way that they should pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but in reality to observe the state of the town and people. Bias, guessing their errand, ordered the granaries to be filled with heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and reported to the king what great plenty of provisions they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege.—By a like artifice Thrasybulus is said to have caused Halyattes to raise the siege of Miletus, a city not far from Priene.—Both these accounts are to be found in the second volume of M. Rollin's Ancient History, but which of them is the true one, (for they seem to be the same story somewhat differently told) I leave to the reader's judgment. One of the precepts that Bias particularly taught and recommended was, To do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods. The city of Priene was so famous for the justice practised there in the time of this philosopher, that *Justitia Prienenfis* became a proverb.

tain is covered with tall pines, chesnut-trees, and several other sorts, and is full of game, as Strabo has described it; and a little to the North of it, towards Scalanova, is a village called Tchangli, whose situation agrees exactly with that which Strabo assigns to Panionium, famous for being the place where the deputies of the cities of Ionia used to assemble, to consult about their most weighty affairs.

In the middle of this strait, towards its Southern mouth, is an ancient chapel built upon a rock; and between this rock and the island of Samos lies the little isle which Strabo calls Narthecis, and which helps us to determine the situation of Neptune's Cape, that took its name from a temple dedicated to that deity. On the Samian shore, in the North-East part of the same strait, is a road for ships called the Falley-port, about which the ruins of an ancient town are to be discerned, and of two temples, as one may conjecture from the columns that lie scattered in different places; the one having been built on an eminence, the other in a bottom. The ruins of the town consist chiefly of bricks mixed with some pieces of white marble, and fragments of jasper columns. At the point of the port, where the channel is narrowest, are foundations of an ancient marble tower; from whence the people of the country pretend there used to be a chain over to the Continent, to prevent any ships passing through the strait; adding, that several huge iron rings for that purpose are still to be seen on the opposite coast of Asia. There is another port between Vati and the Little Boghas, behind a rock called Pra-fonesi; and at a little distance from the shore are

three or four small rocks, the chief of which is called Didascalo, where according to a tradition among the natives, was formerly the college or school of the country.

After we had visited the Eastern parts of the island, we set out for the Southern coast, and had a pleasant journey to Chora, about fifteen miles from Vati. In our way thither we made some stay at a handsome village called Metelinous, which took its name from the island of Metelin, having been rebuilt by a colony sent from that country after Sultan Selim had given Samos to the Captain-Bashaw Ochiali. The spring of Metelinous, which forms a considerable stream running Eastward from the village, is the best in the whole island, and is undoubtedly that which was conveyed to the city of Samos by a wonderful canal cut through a mountain, as mentioned by Herodotus.

Near this spring, in the wall of the church of Metelinous, is fixed an ancient bas-relief of marble, of excellent workmanship, which was found in the last century by a Greek priest, as he was digging up a field. It is above two feet long, and fifteen or sixteen inches high, but the heads are very much battered. It contains seven figures, and represents a sick man of quality imploring the succour of Æsculapius. The patient is sitting up in his bed, holding a pitcher by both handles; and on his right side, towards the bed's feet, the god of physic is represented in the shape of a serpent. At a little distance stands a table, with three feet like those of goats, on which are two flagons, a pine apple, and something at each end like a pyramid. On the right

sits a woman in a high backed elbow-chair, the drapery of which figure is admirable: her face fronts you, and she seems to be giving directions to a slave close by her, who has a vest on, and over that a loose sort of garment. At the feet of the bed is another woman seated on a low stool, the covering whereof hangs down to the ground: she is dressed like her in the elbow-chair, but we only see her side-ways. Perhaps she is the sick man's wife, for a young child stands naked before her, with a dog fawning about him; and a female slave is placed behind her, habited in a short coat without sleeves, below which falls a sort of under petticoat full of plaits. Her left hand is upon her breast, and in her right, which is erect, she holds a heart with the point upwards. Towards the extremity of the bas-relief is another he-slave stark naked, who is taking drugs out of a mortar with one hand, in order to put them into a cup which he has in the other; and Æsculapius seems to direct him to pour them into the pitcher held by the patient. Along the top of the bas-relief runs a kind of border, divided into four pannels; on the first of which is a horse's head very finely carved; the second contains two flames; the third a helmet and cuirass; and the fourth is so broken, that one can discern nothing but the rim of a buckler. It is impossible to assign the particular meaning of these attributes, but they seem intended to express the military genius or actions of the patient.

On one side of this spring is an inscription not legible, but from what remains of the characters they appear to have been done by a masterly hand. In

all probability the inscription contained the name of the spring, and perhaps the names of those who undertook to convey it to Samos, by cutting through the mountain. At present it helps to form a large brook, which empties itself into the port of Tigani.

From Metelinous we had two miles to Chora, which is the chief town of the island, and yet it does not contain above six hundred houses, and those not very full of inhabitants. It stands in a pleasant fertile country, within two miles of the sea, adjoining to the ruins of the ancient city of Samos; but its air is not healthful at present, on account of the waters stagnating in the plain, which formerly discharged themselves into the sea. We expected to have found abundance of inscriptions in Chora, but met with none except a few epitaphs, and those of a latter date than the Christian æra; so that most of our time was taken up in searching among the ruins of Samos.

The city of Samos extended from the port of Tigani, which is three miles from Chora, as far as the river Imbrasus, the largest in the island, that runs within five hundred yards of the ruins of Juno's temple; for Strabo writes that one of the suburbs of this city was at Cape Juno. Though Samos is entirely destroyed, its situation is easily discovered; the North part of the town stood upon a hill, and the other ran along the sea-shore from port Tigani to the Cape just mentioned. Tigani, which was the galley-port of the Ancients, is in the form of a half-moon, the left horn whereof was that famous jettee, which Herodotus reckons one of the three wonders of Samos, being twenty fathom in height,

and carried into the sea above two hundred and fifty paces. Such an extraordinary work is an evident instance of the Samians application to marine affairs; and accordingly we find them giving a very kind reception to Aminocles the Corinthian, the ablest ship-builder of his time, who built them four ships about three hundred years before the end of the Peloponnesian war. The Samians carried Battus to Cyrene above six hundred years before our Saviour; and according to Pliny they were the inventors of such vessels as were used in transporting cavalry.

From port Tigani we ascended an eminence almost covered with marble tomb-stones, but without epitaphs or other sculpture; and here begin the remains of the walls of the upper-town, which run along the declivity of a rugged mountain, from one end of it to the other. From what is left of these walls, they appear to have been very magnificent, especially those on the side of Chora, being ten or twelve feet thick, with marble towers at proper distances. The brow of the mountain towards the South, which faces the sea, was covered with houses, rising above each other, and affording a delightful prospect; and a little lower may be discerned the place where the theatre stood, but the materials of it are all removed. It was situated on the right of a chapel called Our Lady of the Grotto, from a neighbouring one, which is full of remarkable congelations.

Descending from the theatre to the sea, we met with abundance of broken pillars, either fluted or in pannels; and several others with different profiles on the little eminences hereabouts, lying in such order as makes it highly probably they once supported some

portico's or temples, and the like are seen in many other parts of the island. The ruins of the houses, among which they now drive the plough, are of ordinary masonry mixed with bricks and pieces of marble, some plain, and others adorned with mouldings. We saw but few ancient inscriptions, and those so broken and defaced as not to be understood.

As to the breadth of the city of Samos, it appears to have taken up all the fine plain that lies between Chora and the sea, being upwards of two miles. It was supplied with water by several aqueducts, besides that which was cut through the mountain, the remains whereof are still to be seen in some places near Chora and appear to have been of excellent brick and admirable workmanship. We pass over one small stream going along the coast from Tigani to the ruins of Juno's temple, and near it we find the traces of a considerable Christian church. Beyond this we cross another, which comes directly from Chora, and very probably furnished the upper part of the town with water.

About five hundred paces from the sea, and the like distance from the river Imbrasus, are the ruins of the temple of Juno, the protectress of Samos; and the more ingenious among the Greek clergy still call it by its ancient name. Menedotus the Samian, cited by Athenæus, says that it was built by Caricus and some nymphs, the island having been first in the possession of the Carians. Pausanias says it was supposed to be the work of the Argonauts, who had brought a statue of Juno from Argos to Samos; and tells us the Samians asserted, that goddess was born on the banks of the river Imbrasus, under one of

those trees called *Agnus Castus*, which are very common in this island, and most others of the Archipelago. The stump of this tree was held in great veneration, and for a long time carefully preserved in the temple. Pausanias also proves the antiquity of this structure from that of Juno's statue, which was the workmanship of Smilis a sculpture of Egina, cotemporary of Dædalus. Athenæus, on the credit of the above mentioned Menodotus, tells us of a miracle that happened when the Tyrreneans would have carried off Juno's statue; for those pirates, it seems, were wind-bound; and not able to stir out of the harbour, till they had restored it to its place in the temple. When the account of this prodigy was spread, it much increased the reputation of the goddess, and occasioned a great resort of her votaries to this island. The Persians burnt the temple, but it was rebuilt soon after, and such rich presents were made to it, that in a short time there was no room left for statues and pictures. Notwithstanding the example of the Tyrrheneans pirates, Verres, in his return from Asia, made no scruple to rifle this temple of whatever was valuable; and Cicero reflects on him for his impiety in this affair: nor did the pirates shew any more respect to it in the time of Pompey. Strabo calls it a great temple, and takes notice of its being filled with pictures and antique ornaments; among which were the loves of Jupiter and Juno, so naturally represented, that Origen reproaches the Gentiles for exhibiting such a scene of lewdness. There were also in the court of this temple three colossal statues stand on the same base, representing Jupiter, Hercules,

and Minerva, which Mark Anthony carried away; but Augustus restored the two last, and only kept that of Jupiter, which he placed in a little temple erected in the capitol.

Of this fine structure and all its ornaments, scarce any thing remains at present but a few fragments of columns, and some bases of very beautiful marble; nor is it possible to ascertain the disposition of these columns, and consequently the plan of the edifice, which according to Herodotus, was one of the wonders of Samos. That historian acknowledges it was the most spacious temple he ever beheld; and we are obliged to him for transmitting to us the name of the architect, who was Rhæcus, a native of the island. The columns of this fabric were of the Ionic order, as it appeared in its infancy, and void of that beauty which it afterwards acquired. As the temple stood in a bottom, by length of time the water from the higher grounds has brought earth enough with it to cover its ruins, so that only a small part of them are visible; but by digging deep one might possibly make some useful discoveries.

With respect to the form of the temple, we must not absolutely depend upon the draught of it as we find it on old medals, for oftentimes they represent different temples under the same figure; particularly we meet with some of the Levant, where the temples of Ephesus and Samos are of the same design. As for the goddess, she was differently habited, according to the several parts she acted; for she was made to preside in marriage, in child-birth, and over the monthly courses of the fair sex. Considered as a

nuptial deity, she was called Juno Pronuba*, and had several other epithets given her; as assisting women in labour, she had the name of Lucina†; with regard to the last office, she was called Dea Mena‡, which is the same as Luna; and hence perhaps the crescent or half-moon, which we frequently see on her head and under her feet, was intended to denote the monthly influence above-mentioned. It is not easy, as a late traveller has observed, to ascertain the dress of Juno peculiar to her several offices. Tristanus has given a type of a medal of the Samians, on which that goddess is represented with her neck bare and habited in a tunic reaching down to her feet, tied very close about her with a girdle, and her veil hangs from the top of her head to the bottom of her garment. On another medal Juno has a bonnet on her head terminated by a crescent; and sometimes she is represented with a kind of basket, which the head-dress of the Turkish women very much resembles. Juno, who presided at nuptials, wore a crown of cyprus, a sort of rush, and of those flowers we call everlasting: and hence, it has been conjectured, arose the

* Virg. *Æneid.* IV. 166.—And Lætantius takes notice of the temple of this goddess at Samos: “Nobilissimum et antiquissimum
“ templum ejus est Sami, et simulachrum in habitu nubentis figuratum; et sacra ejus anniversaria, nuptiarum ritu celebrantur.
Lib. I. de fals. Relig. cap. 17.

† “Juno Lucina, fer opem, serve me, obsecro.” Ter. Andr. *Act.* III. Sc. I.—The same title was also given to Diana, Hor. *Carm.* Sec. Virg. *Ecl.* IV. and many other places of the poets.

‡ “Dea Mena menstruis fluoribus præest.” Aug. de Civ. Dei, L. VII.

present custom of the Levant, in placing crowns on the heads of the new-married couple.

We had not time sufficient to take a particular survey of the Western parts of the island of Samos, though there are several large villages, the chief of which are Maratrocampo, Albaniticorio, Castania, Carlovassi, Comaria, Pyrgos, and Bavonda. Indeed it is not very agreeable travelling in this country, for a great chain of mountains, anciently called Ampelos, runs through it from one end to the other, and terminates in frightful rocks and precipices, which form the Western Cape of Samos. Most of these mountains are of white marble, but covered with a stratum of earth producing trees and plants, and watered with fine springs and rivulets, which make them pleasant solitudes in summer. The plains, however, and valleys of the island are fertile and delightful, and produce corn enough for the support of the inhabitants. Besides the common grain they sow in Samos a great deal of large white millet, which they call Chicri; and the poorer sort of people, in making their bread, mix wheat, barley, and millet together. Some mix only millet and barley, of both which they have plenty in this island.

In the flourishing times of Greece it is well known that Samos was very populous; but at present it is computed there are not above fourteen thousand persons in the whole country. They are all of the Greek communion, except a few families of Turks, of which the principal are those of the Cadi and Wayvode, who both reside at Chora, and that of the Wayvode's deputy, who lives at Vati or Carlovass. The two last-mentioned Turkish officers are

wholly employed in levying the Grand Signior's taxes; and as to the civil government and administration of justice, the Cadi has but little business, the Greeks being permitted to choose their own magistrate in every town and village, who decide all differences amongst them, and have the care of their public affairs. One or two suffice for most of the villages, but in Chora, Vati, and Carlovassi they elect six, two whereof are papas or priests; and indeed the Samians in general are in a great measure under the government or influence of ecclesiastics. There are above two hundred priests in the island, and the number of monks is much greater who possess seven monasteries; besides which there are four nunneries, and upwards of three hundred private chapels. The bishop of Samos, who is also bishop of the neighbouring island of Nicaria, resides at Chora, whose annual revenue is about two thousand crowns, exclusive of the profit he makes by blessing the waters and the cattle, (a ceremony performed at the beginning of May) and some other casual advantages.

The Samians are happy, as well as the Sciots, in not being tyrannized over by the Turks, as other poor Christians are in many parts of the Ottoman dominions; and their taxes are not very exorbitant. The capitation-tax amounts to about six thousand five hundred crowns, the customs are rented at ten thousand, and twelve or thirteen thousand are raised by the land-tax. A tenth is paid out of all sorts of grain, and even out of the produce of the garden, as onions, melons, French-beans, &c. whereof they have great plenty. Their muscadine grapes are a pleasant and beautiful fruit, and excellent wine might

be made of them, but the natives seem ignorant how to manage it properly, and cannot forbear spoiling it with water; not but some of it is very agreeable. They make annually about three thousand barrels of muscadine, besides another sort of deep-coloured red wine, which would be good if not adulterated, and which they send to Scio, Rhodes, and Napoli di Romania, paying a duty of four or five per cent to the renters of the customs upon its exportation. Every piece of a vineyard that is fifty paces in length, and twenty in breadth, pays the Grand Signior about three shillings sterling per annum.

There are some olive plantations in Samos, but they seldom yield above eight or nine hundred barrels of oil, each weighing a hundred and forty-eight pounds. The pine-trees in the North of the island yield four or five hundred quintals of pitch; and they have the sort of acorn called Velani or Velanides, used by tanners, which they export to Venice and Anconia. The silk of the island is very fine, and makes a considerable article in their traffic; but the Aga or Wayvode has great perquisites out of this commodity. Nor ought we to forget their honey and wax, both which are excellent, and some parts of the country produce large quantities.

The figs that grow in Samos are consumed by the inhabitants, who have few or none to spare for exportation; for though there are abundance of fig-trees in the island, they are less fruitful than in Scio, for want of being improved by the same sort of husbandry. They are very white, and of an extraordinary size, but not of so delicious a taste as some that grow in Europe. Besides figs, they have plenty

of apples, pomegranates, mulberries, and other fruits; which have been taken notice of by ancient writers; and Strabo in particular seems delighted with the fertility of this country.

But Samos is not so remarkable for its fruits, in my opinion, as for its abundance of wild fowl and variety of game. The number of partridges especially is surprising, for they come in droves to the brooks to drink, where the natives wait for them, and shoot ten or a dozen, nay sometimes fifteen or twenty at a time; insomuch that you may buy a brace for threepence. There is a proportionable plenty of woodcocks, woodpigeons, snipes, thrushes, turtle-doves, and other birds in their proper seasons; and their poultry inferior to none in the Levant. If we were right informed, there are no rabbits in Samos; but the number of hares makes ample amends, not to mention their deer, wild boars, and other beasts of venery. The chief inconvenience of the woody mountains is, that they are a shelter for wolves and jackalls*, which sometimes do a great deal of

* The jackall or wild dog, as some call it, is of a darker colour than the fox, and about the same bigness, but said to be exceeding fierce and bold, so as to seize on cows, hogs, sheep, and such-like animals; though Dr. Shaw says it yelps every night about the gardens and villages in Barbary, feeding upon roots, fruits and carrion. Mr. Ray supposes it to be the *Lupus aureus* of the Ancients, but the doctor seems to be of another opinion, because what Oppian describes as such is of a much fiercer nature than the jackall of Barbary. This animal is generally thought to find out prey for the lion, and is therefore called the lion's provider; but it may be doubted, says the same judicious traveller, whether there be any such friendly intercourse between them. The jackall continues he, has been often seen gnawing such carcasses as the lion is supposed to have fed on the night before; which circum-

mischief; and they have also some tigers, which cross over the little strait from the Continent of Asia.

They have no want of good beef in Samos, for they breed abundance of cattle; but they have more goats than sheep. The sheep they have, however, are not to be despised; for their flesh is well-tasted, and their fleeces are none of the worst, some of their wool being annually exported to France, as well as that of the growth of some other islands in the Archipelago. The horses and mules of this country are serviceable, but they are not to be admired for their beauty; and they have this good property, that though they are not confined with inclosures, but graze where they please, they never stray far from their owners houses, and are easily taken whenever their service is required.

The scammony of Samos is not much to be commended, being of a reddish colour, hard, and tough, and consequently not easy to be broken. It not only purges violently, but oftentimes occasions gripings and uneasy super-purgations. The plant * it comes from shoots in this island about the beginning of

stance, together with the promiscuous noise the doctor has frequently heard the jackall make with the lion, is all that he is acquainted with in favour of that opinion. See Shaw's Travels, p. 247.

* Scammony is the inspissated juice of the root of a plant of the same name, growing in several parts of the Levant; but, as our traveller intimates, the best species of it is found about Aleppo. The juice flows from incisions made in the root, and is afterwards thickened by fire. The plant is much like ivy, its leaves in form of hearts, its flowers white, and it creeps on the ground, or climbs trees, walls, &c. The good and genuine scammony of

April, and is a sort of convolvulus or bind-weed, with large hairy leaves. It grows plentifully upon the Continent, in the plains of Mysia, between the mounts Olympius and Sipylus. Considerable quantities of scammony are exported from Smyrna; but that of Syria, which comes from Aleppo, is abundantly better, as experience has sufficiently taught us, notwithstanding the Ancients seem to have been of a different opinion. That of Samos pays no custom, but very little of it is brought from Europe.

There are some iron-mines in Samos, and indeed most of the lands look of a rusty colour. Emery-stones are common enough in several parts of the island; and so is oker about Vati, which takes a fine yellow, if put into the fire; but by lying there long it acquires a brownish redness. Near Carlovassi is found an insipid black earth, which they use in dying thread, and is therefore supposed to partake of vitriol. The country about Bavonda is full of a fine bole or red earth, very dry, and adhering to the tongue when tasted; from which, by the assistance

Aleppo is green, tender, friable, and resinous; the taste bitter, and the smell faintish and disagreeable. The scammony of Smyrna, and that of the East Indies, are less valued; the first as being more heavy, hard, and black; the latter, though light and friable, as being in reality only a composition of common resin with some other violent purgatives. Pomet has such an ill opinion of both these kinds, that he esteems them rather poisons than remedies. The true scammony is one of the surest cathartics, but one of the most violent we have; and for that reason is seldom used without correcting it by some preparation with sulphur, quince, or the like; after which correction it is called Diagrydium. Some give Mechoacan the name of American scammony.

of lintseed-oil, iron may be extracted. Perhaps the earthen ware, for which Samos was anciently famous, was made of this bole: but though the Samians, according to Aulus Gellius, were the first potters, none of them follow that business at present, the country being furnished with all such wares from Ancona, except their jars for wine and brandy, which come from Scio. We have mention made by Dioscorides and Pliny of two sorts of white earth found in this island, which were used medicinally by the Ancients; and also of the Samian stone, which was useful in polishing gold, and of great service in many distempers: but the present inhabitants of Samos know nothing of these matters, nor do they give themselves any trouble about such inquiries.

I have already observed that Samos abounds with all manner of provisions necessary for the support of its inhabitants; and I may add, that the island in general, some low marshy grounds excepted, enjoys a healthful air, and the natives live to a good old age.* The women here have no regard to neatness, which is so particularly agreeable in the fair sex, for they scarce shift above once a month. Their habit is a

* M. Tournefort tell us that he met with a Greek monk in this island who was a hundred and twenty years old, and even then amused himself with cutting of wood and looking after a mill. This honest caloyer, it seems, had never in the course of his life drank any other liquor than wine and brandy: but lest the wine-bibbers should draw unjust conclusions from this instance, M. Tournefort subjoins that of M. Lupazzalo the Venetian consul at Smyrna, (mentioned before in this book, page 27.) who lived to the age of an hundred and eighteen years, and never drank any thing but water.

vest after the Turkish mode, with a red coif, and a white or yellow tassel hanging down their backs, as also do their hair, which is usually parted into two tresses, at the bottom whereof hang little plates of tin, or silver of a coarse alloy, for they have hardly any other in the country.

The famous Pythagoras, was a native of Samos, and will be for ever an honour to that island, on account of the rank he held among the ancient philosophers. After having travelled into a great many countries, and enriched his mind with variety of excellent learning, he returned to the place of his nativity, but did not make a long stay in it, on account of the tyrannical government that Polycrates had established there; who however had the highest regard for him, and shewed him all the esteem due to his extraordinary merit. Indeed the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is scarce compatible with the least degree of slavery: he therefore went into Italy, and resided usually at Crotona, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher; an inclination for study, and a love of wisdom, diffusing themselves almost universally. Multitudes flocked from the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured with his presence; and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of government.

His school soon became more famous than any that had ever been before him, and he had no less than five or six hundred disciples; but before they were admitted in that quality, he obliged them to undergo a probation for five years, during which time he enjoined them to keep the strictest silence; to teach them modesty and attention according to Apuleius; or according to Clemens Alexandrinus, to abstract their minds from sensual objects, and inure them to the pure contemplation of the Deity. He taught the unity of a supreme God, that he is a simple, incorruptible, and invisible being; and therefore only to be worshipped with a pure mind, with the simplest rites, and those of his own prescribing. He made great use of arithmetic, or the science of numbers; and asserted, that virtue, health, friendship, every thing that is good, even God himself, was nothing but harmony. Pythagoras had travelled much in the East, and undoubtedly borrowed from the Persian magi most of those principles of philosophy and religion, by which he afterwards acquired so much reputation and respect; but his doctrine of a metempsychosis or transmigration of souls he learnt from the Egyptians, by which indeed he taught the immortality of the soul, though at the same time he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the magi concerning that important article. He is said to have excelled in every branch of science: according to Diogenes Laertius, he learnt divination and the interpreting of dreams among the Chaldeans and Hebrews; in Egypt he learnt their whole system of symbolical knowledge, and all their theology: and Porphyry tells us that

he acquired the mathematical science in his travels; geometry from the Egyptians, the doctrine of numbers and proportions from the Phœnicians, and astronomy from the Chaldeans.

Before Pythagoras's time, those who excelled in the speculative and practical sciences, and were distinguished by an exemplary life, were called sages or wise men; which indeed, according to the style of the Greeks, signifies little more than what we now express by learned men; for sophist, though honourable anciently, is now become a term of reproach. Pythagoras however, thinking the title of wise man too assuming, as implying the actual possession of wisdom, and therefore not proper for an humble inquirer after it, was the first who gave himself the modest appellation of philosopher, or lover of wisdom; a name which has been ever since given to those who apply themselves to the study of natural science and morality. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered, and if he did but barely affirm a thing, they immediately believed it without any examination: he said it, * (meaning their master Pythagoras) was with them a sufficient proof of the truth of any doctrine or proposition. It is not certainly known, whether Pythagoras ever published any thing in writing; but this is certain

* 'Αυτος ἔφη, "Ipsa dixit."—Hereupon M. Rollin observes, that the disciples of Pythagoras carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all inquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice, says he, that ought to be made only to the Divine authority, which is infinitely superior to all our reason and all our knowledge; and which consequently, has a right to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

that we have now nothing of his extant. The little poem, called the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, was composed by one of his disciples, which some affirm to be Lysis, and others Empedocles.

Out of Pythagoras's school have proceeded a great number of illustrious persons, who have done infinite honour to their masters; as Zaleucus, Charondas, Archytas, and many more, whom it would be tedious to enumerate. From his school, in short, the world was furnished with wise legislators, able politicians, great proficient in all the sciences, men capable of governing states, and being ministers of the greatest princes. A long time after the death of Pythagoras, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, and which was then called Græcia Magna, was considered as the nursery and seat of learned men, and maintained that glorious character for several ages. What an high opinion the Romans entertained of this philosopher's wisdom appears from hence, that when the oracle of Delphos had commanded them, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome, the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the Comitium, representing Pythagoras and Themistocles. Authors are not agreed as to the time of Pythagoras's birth and death, but he flourished about the sixtieth Olympiad, five hundred and forty years before Jesus Christ.

I have nothing more to add concerning this great philosopher, but that we met with a medal in the island of Samos, on one side whereof is the head of Trajan, and on the reverse is Pythagoras sitting be-

fore a column that supports a globe, towards which he seems to be pointing with his right hand. Fulvius Ursinus gives us a medal with the same head, but with this difference on the reverse, that Pythagoras rests his left hand on the globe. The like medals are seen with the heads of Caracalla and Etruscilla; and we also meet with one of Commodus, on the reverse of which is Pythagoras pointing with a rod to a star on the celestial globe, probably that of Venus, whereof, according to Pliny, he was the first discoverer.

After a short stay in Samos, our curiosity determined us to visit the little island of Patmos, now called Patino or Palmosa, which lies about forty miles South-West of Samos, so that we were not above twelve hours in our passage from one island to another. Our vessel came to an anchor in the port la Scala, one of the finest in the Archipelago, and able to contain a pretty large fleet. It is on the North side of the island, as are also the ports of Sapsila and Gricou; on the West is port Merica, and on the South another called Diacorti; all of them good ones, but especially those towards the North. But though Patmos is considerable for its harbours, they are of no great service to the inhabitants; for they have been so often invested with pirates and rovers, that the greatest part of the people have quitted the shores, and settled amongst the mountains.

The whole island of Patmos is not above twenty miles in circumference, though Pliny makes it thirty; which indeed will be true enough, if all the turnings and windings of the coast are included in the computation. The town belonging to the port of

la Scala, which is the chief if not the only one in the country, stands upon a hill near three miles from the harbour, and is much better built than those in many of the islands that carry on a larger commerce. In the middle of the town is the convent of St. John, a very strong building, which may be looked upon as a castle, consisting of several irregular towers. There is a small chapel belonging to this convent, painted very indifferently, after the manner of the Greeks; wherein they shew the body of one of their saints named Christodulus, that is, servant of Christ; at whose persuasion, say they, the emperor Alexis Comnenes founded this monastery. The house has an annual income of six thousand crowns, and the church-plate is very handsome; but what is most remarkable are two large bells that hang over the gateway, nothing of that kind being suffered by the Turks in most parts of their dominions. The monks of Patmos, however, are allowed this privilege, on account of a particular veneration the Turks have for the memory of St. John. There are about a hundred caloyers belonging to this monastery, but not more than fifty or sixty generally resident, the rest of them being employed in looking after their farms in the neighbouring islands.

The house of the Revelation, as it is called, is a poor hermitage depending on the convent of St John, and is situated on the side of the mountain between the convent and the port of la Scala. The way to it is cut in the rock, and is very narrow and rugged: it leads to the chapel, which is a pretty little building in the Gothic taste, about seven yards in length, and four in breadth. On the right of this is what they

call St John's grotto, the entrance whereof is seven feet high, with a square pillar in the middle. In that part of the rock that forms the roof of the grotto they shew a fissure or crack, through which, according to a tradition they have, the Holy Ghost dictated the Revelation to St. John. They usually make strangers a present of some pieces of this, rock, pretending they have the virtue of expelling evil spirits, and curing various distempers.

As to the tradition of the Greeks concerning this grotto, it is certain from St. John's own account, that he received his revelation in the isle of Patmos, whither he was banished in the persecution under Domitian, about the year of Christ 95, after having been dipped in a caldron of boiling oil at Rome by order of that emperor, and miraculously taken out unhurt. Domitian being killed not long after St. John's banishment, he regained his liberty under the succeeding emperor Nerva, and returned to Ephesus in the year 97, where he wrote his gospel. Authors indeed are not well agreed about the time of St. John's continuance in the isle of Patmos, some making his exile last but eighteen months, according to the computation I have chosen; though others, as Irenæus, fix it five years; and the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* extends it to fifteen. This evangelist is generally supposed to have led a single life, and is noted for his indefatigable pains and boldness in preaching the gospel; but whether he died a natural death, or suffered martyrdom, is uncertain.

The Revelation, of all the books of the New Testament, is that about which the ancient fathers and the practice of the church were the most and the

longest divided; nor is it easy to determine when it was first universally received as canonical. St. Jerom relates, that the Greek church doubted its authenticity even in his days: Basil and Gregory Nazianzen absolutely rejected it, and the council of Laodicea never mention it in their canon of the sacred writings.* By some it was attributed to the hermit Cerinthus, and by others to another John, a disciple of the evangelist. This Dionysius Alexan-

* It may not be amiss to observe here, that the Alogians, a sect of ancient heretics, so called from their denying Jesus Christ to be the logos or eternal word, are represented by ecclesiastical writers as great declaimers against the Revelation, many of the flights whereof they turn into ridicule, particularly the visions of the seven trumpets, the four angels bound on the river Euphrates, &c.—Epiphanius defends it against them, and takes notice, that the book is not a mere history, but a prophecy; so that it is no wonder the author should express himself after the manner of the prophets, whose style is usually figurative.—Of all their objections against the authority of this book, that seems the best grounded which is drawn from those words in the second chapter. “Write to the angel of the church of Thyatira;” for, say they, there was not a Christian church in Thyatira at that time, Epiphanius, who grants them this point, is forced to have recourse to the prophetic spirit, as if St. John foresaw the future establishment of Christianity in that city. Some late authors have made a good amendment to Epiphanius’s answer; supposing it probable, that in the time of that father the catalogue of the bishops, with other acts, which shew that there had been a church established there from the time of the apostles, might not be known. Grotius adds, that though there was not, indeed, any church of Gentile converts at Thyatira when St. John wrote, yet there was one of Jews; as there had been another at Thessalonica before St. Paul preached in that place.

drinus endeavours to make appear, by shewing how different the style of St. John's gospel is from that of the Revelation, which last he censures as written in bad Greek, and even finds solecisms and barbarisms in it in abundance; though he allows it to be an inspired writing, and to contain a mystic sense, which he says he admires even where he does not understand. On the other hand, Justin, Irenæus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Apollonius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Tertullian, make no doubt of its being canonical. The third council of Carthage, held in 397, placed it in the canon of the New Testament, since which time it has been acknowledged both by the Eastern and Western churches; though some orthodox writers have rejected the Revelation as a book which countenanced the reveries of Cerinthus touching the carnal reign of Christ on earth, or what is usually called the Millennium.—But to return to Patmos.

The civil affairs of the island are managed by two administrators annually chosen by the inhabitants from among themselves. These collect the capitation and land-tax, which both together amount to a thousand crowns, besides some presents that must be made to the Captain-Bashaw and his officers when they come to receive the money for the Grand Signior. There are neither Turks nor Latins in the country, in which respect the poor Greeks are happy, whose number is about two thousand; but it is remarkable that much the greater part of these are females. To say the truth, the women here are naturally handsome, but disfigure themselves so intolerably with paint that they are really frightful; by which, however, they endeavour to render them-

selves more desirable, and are particularly fond of strangers, so that a man may get a wife in this island without any manner of difficulty.*

The bishop of Samos is usually reckoned the Diocesan of Patmos, but their papas frequently receive ordination from other bishops. As to the number of priests in the island, it is uncertain; but we may suppose they are in proportion to the chapels, of which they reckon above two hundred and fifty, and many of them are very pretty buildings. There are scarce any antiquities to be found in Patmos, nor any ruins worthy of observation. We saw indeed a few fragments of marble columns at the port of Cascala, which seemed to be of a good design, and are perhaps the most ancient in the Archipelago. They are probably the remains of some temple of the chief town, which formerly stood thereabouts, and bore the name of the island. In the porch of St. John's church there is an inscription, and another in the nave, both which are so defaced by time as to be quite illegible.

The isle of Patmos is one of the barrenest in all the Archipelago, full of rocks and stony mountains, and almost destitute of trees and herbage, the highest whereof is that of St. Elijah. In summer most of the springs are dried up, and I do not know that there is one river in the island, so that they often

* M. Tournefort pleasantly observes, that ever since a certain merchant of Marseilles married one of the women of Patmos for her beauty, they fancy there is not a stranger comes thither but to make the like purchase. They looked upon us, says he, as very odd fellows, and seemed to be mightily surprised when they were told we only came to search for plants; for they imagined, on our arrival, we should carry into France a dozen wives at least.

suffer much by a scarcity of water. The country does not produce much wheat or barley, nor is the wine of their own growth sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, so that they import some from Santorini; and as for corn, they fetch it from the neighbouring Continent of Natolia, and even from the coasts of the Black Sea, not only for their own use, but to vend again to foreigners. They have plenty of rabbits, partridges, turtles, quails, pigeons, snipes, and other game. As to figs, they have no great quantities, though they practise capri-fication; for there are but few fig-trees in the island.

We were glad to leave this barren country as soon as possible, to which no other motive had led us but a desire of seeing the place of St. John's banishment; and accordingly we got on board a small vessel that was going for a lading of corn to Scalanova on the coast of Natolia, from whence we proposed to return to Smyrna by the way of Ephesus. Meeting with a little bad weather, we were four days in our passage; one of which we spent in the port of the Galleys in the little streight of Samos, and arrived safe at Scalanova the first of November.

As we made but a very short stay at this place, all the account I can give of it will be comprised in a little compass. The port of Scalanova looks towards the West, and on the South side of it lies the city, which rises gradually up the brow of a hill, affording a delightful prospect. Few towns in Turkey make a handsomer appearance, for the houses are well built and covered with tiles, the pavement of the streets is good, and they are most of them strait and spacious. None but Turks and a few Jewish families live within the walls, the Greeks

and Armenians inhabiting the suburbs only. There are about six thousand Turks in the place, half that number of Greeks, and four or five hundred Armenians. The trade of the town is not very considerable, but consists chiefly in wines, raisins, corn, and Turkey leather. A great many old marbles are to be seen in Scalanova, which was the Neapolis of the Milesians; and it is remarkable that its modern name agrees well with the ancient.

On the third of November we set out for Ephesus, having hired a Janizary to attend us, not only as a guide but a guard also; the road, as we were informed, being frequently infested with robbers. The country about Scalanova is full of vineyards, between which we travelled for two miles; when we passed through a breach of a great wall, which they tell us served anciently as an aqueduct to convey water to Ephesus; but seeing no appearance of arches, we concluded it was built for some other purpose. We continued our journey along a road full of windings and turnings, as our guide led us, having the sea on our left hand, and for the most part mountains on our right, till we came into the plain of Ephesus near the mouth of the river Cayster. From hence the road runs Eastward, and then again inclines to the North, where we crossed a stream that falls into the Cayster, proceeding from a morass on our right, beyond which are the ruins of Diana's temple, and what they call St. Paul's prison, whereof I shall speak more particularly hereafter. Thus traversing the plain we entered Ephesus about twelve o'clock, having left Scalanova at eight in the morning.

It is a melancholy thing to see Ephesus, formerly one of the most flourishing cities of Asia, that was

so early favoured with the light of the gospel, whose church was honoured with an epistle from St. Paul, and received such salutary advice from St. John as we find in the Revelation, by our Lord's express command*; I say it is an affecting consideration, that this once illustrious city is now reduced to a miserable village, scarce considerable for any thing but the ruins that are spread around it, which sufficiently testify its ancient splendor and magnificence. The village at present consists of forty or fifty houses inhabited by Turks, and Greeks, and a castle in the possession of the Turks, which stands upon a little hill stretching from North to South, and commands the whole plain of Ephesus.

This plain, at the East end of which the present town of Ephesus is situated, is four or five miles in length, and two in breadth. It is encompassed on all sides with high rocky mountains, except towards the sea, which washes it on the West; so that its shape is somewhat like that of an ancient circus or stadium. The river Cayster† runs through the

* Our Lord first commends the church of Ephesus: "I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience—and that for my name's sake thou hast laboured, and hast not fainted." He then blames her because she had "left her first love," advising her to "repent and do the first works;" adding this threatening, "or else I will come and remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent:" which seems to be completely fulfilled in the destruction of that glorious church and city. Rev. ii. 6.

† According to the Ancients, this river abounded with swans; whence Ovid,

"Flumineæ volucres medio caluere Caystro." Met. II. 253.

And in another place,

———"Non illo plura Caystros

"Carmina cyenorum labentibus audis in undis. Met. V. 386.

middle of the plain, leaving the town and all the ancient ruins to the South-East, and falls into the sea near a Western promontory running out from the Southern range of mountains. The various windings of this river have made some conclude it to be the Meander, who had never seen the true one in Caria; but that it is the Cayster, is evident from all ancient testimony, and confirmed by several medals of Commodus, Septimius Severus, Valerian, and Gallienus. On the reverse of one that I have seen, the river is represented by a figure in a sedent posture, holding a reed in one hand, a Cornucopia in the other, and leaning on an urn pouring out water.

Though the plain of Ephesus is delightful, yet the situation of Smyrna has something in it much more noble; the hill, which is at the bottom of the gulph, seeming designed, like an amphitheatre, to shew a fine city to the best advantage; whereas Ephesus, were it in its flourishing state, would lose much of its beauty and grandeur by being buried in a hollow. As to its port, on account of which so many medals have been struck, it was never comparable to that of Smyrna, though it was much better formerly, when the vessels ran up into the very river; but the mouth of the Cayster being choaked with sand, there is nothing at present but an open dangerous road for shipping, which is little frequented. As we go to the port, we see a great many ruins and old marbles on the banks of the river; where undoubtedly stood that part of Ephesus which was built by Lysimachus, and the arsenals mentioned by Strabo.

The castle or citadel, which, as I have said, is inhabited and guarded by Turks, seems to be of no older date than the times of the latter Greek em-

perors, several curious fragments of antique marble being carelessly intermixed in the walls amongst other less valuable materials. But at a little distance from hence, towards the South, we see the remains of another citadel of greater antiquity, the works whereof were covered with the finest marble. A gate of this is still standing, commonly called the Gate of the Persecution, which is remarkable for three bas-reliefs of admirable workmanship, as plainly appears, notwithstanding they are much injured and defaced. That on the left has been the finest of all, but is most abused: it is about five feet long, and and half as high; and represents a bacchanal of children playing and rolling amongst vine-branches. The middle one is a foot higher than the other, and twice as long, but has also suffered considerable injury. We counted fourteen or fifteen figures on it, some men, some women; several of the men quite naked, and others in Roman habits. One man lies naked on the ground, near the figure of a horse; and another man has hold of his left leg, endeavouring to drag him along; whence some have conjectured it was designed to represent Hector drawn behind the chariot of Achilles; but as no chariot is to be seen, there is no foundation for such a supposition. Others, with as little probability, have imagined it related to the persecution of the primitive Christians under the Roman emperors; and from hence the gate has obtained its name. But though it is entirely uncertain what this sculpture represented, those who suppose it designed for some Roman triumph seem to have the greatest reason for their conjecture. As to the third bas-relief, on the right hand, it is almost as high as that

in the middle, but not above four feet in length: it contains seven or eight figures, men and women, but what the whole represents I leave to those who are better skilled in antiquity.

Towards the West, at the foot of the hill on which the castle is built, stands the church of St. John the evangelist*, now converted into a Mahometan mosque. The outside of this edifice has nothing to recommend it; but in the inside we find the roof, which is a double one, supported in the middle by three columns of granite, admirably well polished, one whereof is thirteen feet in circumference, with a white marble capital of the composite order. The two others are not much less than this, but their capitals are not half so beautiful, being in the fashion of the modern Greeks. Their pedestals are not seen, so that probably they stand deep in the ground: On each roof the church is a little ill-proportioned cupola, at one end of it the Turks have now erected a minaret. It has a court or area on the North side of it, round which there was anciently a cloyster, as is conjectured from some broken columns yet remaining.

Going Eastward from the Gate of the Persecution, we come to a ruined aqueduct, which was the work of the Greek emperors, and served to convey water to the castle as well as the city, from a spring mentioned by Pausanias. The arches are supported by

* From this evangelist, M. Tournefort informs us, Ephesus has taken its modern name of Aiasalouc, by which it is known both to the Greeks and Turks. The Greeks, it seems, give St. John the title of Aios Seologos, instead of Agios Theologos the Holy Divine, pronouncing the Theta like a Sigma; and from Aios Seologos they have made Aiasalouc.

square pillars, which consist of fine pieces of marble; and there are inscriptions on them, which speak of the first Cæsars. The Greeks live near this aqueduct, and the Turks in the more Southern part of the village. Very few of the inscriptions are legible, and others are so high that we could make nothing of them; nor could the Greeks lend us any such thing as a ladder. From hence the ancient city extended itself principally to the South; but Ephesus has been so often demolished, that such matters are not easily determined.

We set apart a day to take a view of the ruins that lie West and South-West of the present town. About half a mile Southwards is a rocky hill, in which is a cave about three yards diameter, incrust-ed at top with congelations, that make it a very pretty grotto; and at a little distance is a semicircular cavity, almost in form of a theatre. Not far from hence we come to some ruinous arches, where they tell you was the cave or grotto of the Seven Sleepers, who, hiding themselves there in the persecution under the emperor Dioclesian, fell asleep, and did not awake till about two hundred years afterwards. If we believe the story, we may suppose they were extremely surprised when they found how the face of the city was changed, their friends and acquaintance all dead, the money they had about them not current, and all people become Christians.

Keeping Westward under the same hill, we passed by several large heaps of ruins, one of which is known to be a circus or stadium from its figure and length, and seems to have had a kind of theatre at the end of it, separated from the two parallel walls; and a little to the North are the remains of

an amphitheatre, as the position of them leave no room to question. Here it was, in all probability, that the rabble of the city assembled at the instigation of Demetrius the silver-smith, who thought his craft was in danger by St. Paul's preaching against the idolatry of the Ephesians, who worshipped the image of Diana, which they believed fell down from Jupiter; for it is said "that the whole city was filled
" with confusion, and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions
" in travel, they rushed with one accord into the
" theatre."*

South-West of the circus is a large arch or gate, with part of a wall standing on each side of it, all of excellent marble; which is supposed to be the front of a Christian church, built out of the ruins of some more ancient edifice, several of the stones having pieces of inscriptions on them quite unintelligible, though some are accidentally preserved entire. The mould of the arch is good, but not proportioned to the shafts that support it, for it makes more than a semicircle.

The next thing we come to, still keeping to the South-West, are the ruins of the celebrated temple of Diana, esteemed one of the wonders of the world. This stately edifice was situated at the foot of a mountain, and near the edge of a morass, which I took notice of before, in our way from Scalanova to Ephesus. In the opinion of Pliny, they choose this marshy ground to build on, as less exposed to earthquakes; but this choice was attended with a prodigious expence, for they were obliged to make vast

* See the whole account of this affair in Acts xix. from verse 24. to the end of the chapter.

drains to carry off the water that fell down from the mountains, and throw it into the morass and the river Cayster. These drains or vaults have by some travellers been taken for a labyrinth *, but there is not the least reason to think they were designed for such a purpose; it plainly appears by looking into them, that they were intended for nothing else than to carry off the water; or at least it was necessary, in such a wet and moorish place, to have a foundation of that nature for so large a pile of building. Philo Byzantius takes notice of this contrivance, and tells us they were forced to make deep passages, wherein they used such a quantity of stone, that they almost emptied all the quarries of the country. For the foundations of these arched drains, which were to bear so weighty a structure, we are informed by Pliny that they laid beds of charcoal well rammed, and over them other beds of wool.

This surprising temple, built at the expence of the most powerful cities of Asia Minor, was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and two hundred and twenty in breadth. It was supported by a hundred and twenty-seven columns, at the charge of the same number of kings; which will not appear impossible, if we consider that in ancient times, almost every great city had its particular king or sovereign. Each of these columns was sixty feet high; and thirty-six of them were covered with bas-

* The foundation of this temple may worthily be esteemed a labyrinth, according to Sir George Wheeler, but he does not say they were designed for one. They went down amongst them, he tells us, by a long packthread tied at the hole where they first entered; though with all the light their candles gave, they made no great discoveries, but being wearied with the thick vapours of the place, they returned to the fresh air.

reliefs, one of which was done by the famous Scopas, and the rest by the most excellent artists of those times, who endeavoured to out-do one another on this occasion. The rest of the temple was undoubtedly equal to the columns in magnificence; but little of certainty can be learned from its present ruins, which have nothing extraordinary except their thickness, the most part being of brick covered with marble, all pierced with holes for the cramps of those plates of brass which it is thought to have been adorned. But few fragments of pillars are now to be seen, for the finest stones among the ruins of Ephesus have been carried to Constantinople.

The very day that Alexander the Great came into the world, the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned by Herostratus*; who being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, declared that he did it with a view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name by destroying so noble a structure. The states of Asia endeavoured to prevent the success of his views, by publishing

* Cicero mentions a saying of Timæus on this occasion, which he reckons a very smart one, viz. That it was no wonder the temple was burned, because Diana was at that time employed at the delivery of Olympias to facilitate the birth of Alexander. His words are; "Concinne, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in historia dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagravisse, adjunxit Minime id esse mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domo." De Nat. Deor. Lib. II.—Plutarch ascribes this joke to Hegesias of Magnesia, but is far from approving of it, as Cicero does: for he says, the reflection is so very cold, that it might have extinguished the fire: though this reflection of Plutarch, as M. Rollin observes, seems to be still colder.

a decree prohibiting the mention of his name: but their prohibition was far from having the intended effect, for almost all the historians of that age have taken notice of so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time have recorded the name of the criminal.

When Alexander afterwards came to Ephesus, he proposed to the Ephesians to be at the whole expence of rebuilding the temple, provided they would put his name upon the front of it; but they answered with a great deal of politeness, or rather impious flattery, That it was not fit for one deity to build temples to another. In order to carry on the work, which was in forwardness when Alexander made this proposal, the Ephesians not only sold the pillars of the former temple, but all the ladies of the city turned their jewels into money; and by this means they raised an edifice much finer than that which had been destroyed. No doubt but several skilful architects were employed about this building: one of them was Cheremocrates, who would have cut Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander; but Dinocrates is said to have had the superintendence of the work, who was afterwards employed by that prince to build the city of Alexandria in Egypt. Chersiphron is mentioned by Pliny as the architect of Diana's temple, and Strabo grants that he was the first, but says the building was afterwards enlarged by another. The most famous sculptors of Greece exerted their skill in adorning this temple, and the altar was almost wholly the work of Praxiteles: and we may reasonably conclude that Apelles and Parrhasius, the two most celebrated painters of antiquity, who were both of Ephesus, likewise enriched it with their excellent performances.

In the time of Herodotus the city of Ephesus was at a distance from the temple of Diana; but this historian makes no mention of the statue of gold that was set up there, according to Xenophon. Syncellus, who says this temple was burnt, probably speaks of some damage it received by fire, but such as might be repaired without rebuilding the whole fabric; so that the temple which Pliny describes might be the same that Strabo saw in the time of Augustus. But I must acknowledge there seems to me to be some confusion in the accounts which authors give us of these different temples; so that I barely relate what I find concerning them in history, leaving the whole to be reconciled by the judgment of the reader.

The temple of Diana had a privilege of asylum,*

* An asylum is a sanctuary or a place of refuge, where a criminal who shelters himself is deemed inviolable, and not to be touched by any officer of justice. The temples, altars, statues, and tombs of heroes, were anciently the ordinary retreat of those who found themselves aggrieved by the rigour of the laws, or oppressed by the violence of tyrants. The Israelites had their cities of refuge, which were of God's own appointment, where the guilty who had not committed any deliberate crime, found safety and protection. The heathens allowed of refuge and impunity even to the vilest offenders, either out of superstition, or for the sake of peopling their cities; and it was by this means that Thebes, Athens and Rome were first stocked with inhabitants. Among the Christians, the emperor Theodosius and Honorius having granted immunities of this kind to churches, the bishops and monks laid hold of a certain tract or territory, without which they fixed the bounds of the secular jurisdiction; and so well did they manage their privileges, that convents, in a little time became next a-kin to fortresses, where the most notorious villains were in safety, and braved the power of the magistrate. At last these privileges were extended, not only to churches and church-yards, but even to the bishops' houses, whence the criminal could not be removed

which reached to the distance of a hundred and twenty-five feet round about it. Mithridates enlarged it to a bow-shot, and M. Antony doubled the distance, taking in part of the city; but Tiberius, to prevent abuses committed on account of this sort of privileges, abolished them at Ephesus. The asylum was not expressed upon the medals of this city, till after the emperor Philip the elder had been there, and then only upon that of Otacilla; on the reverse of which Diana of Ephesus is represented with her attributes, the sun on one side, and the moon on the other. We have also a medal of Philip the younger, with the same reverse, but a different legend. On one of Etruscilla we find Diana represented with her attributes and stags, and the legend the same with that upon the medal of Otacilla. There are very few cities of which so many ancient medals are still remaining, as there are of Ephesus, on some of which it is styled the first or chief city of Asia; and on most of them Diana is represented, either with many breasts, as Minutius Felix observes this Ephesian goddess was, or as a huntress, and set off with her attributes. Many medals are likewise to be found, on the reverse whereof the temple of Diana is represented with a frontispiece sometimes of two columns, sometimes of four, six, and eight, with the heads of the emperors Domitian, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, and Maximus.

without a legal assurance of life, and an entire remission of the crime. In time, however, these asyla, or sanctuaries, were stripped of many of their immunities, in regard they served to countenance all manner of wickedness, and to make guilt more bold-faced and daring: In England, particularly, they were entirely abolished.

About the ruins of this temple are still to be seen the remains of several houses built of brick, wherein some have conjectured that the priests of Diana resided, who had the care of the virgin-priestesses, but not till they had been made eunuchs. Not far from these ruins is the morass before spoken of, full of reeds and rushes, which some have taken for the lake Selensinia mentioned by Strabo; but others place that lake on the opposite side of the Cayster, where there is a small standing water which to us appeared muddy as we viewed it at a distance.

The last thing we took notice of hereabouts is a building of white marble called St. Paul's prison, which stands on a hill half a mile Westward of Diana's temple. The structure, I confess, is strong enough to deserve the name, consisting of thick walls, which are not much decayed, though they have the appearance of antiquity. It is divided into four rooms, and has only one entrance. But from the convenience of the situation, I rather judge it to have been a watch-tower than a prison; for it affords us a fine prospect of the sea Westward of the town, Eastward of the windings of the river Cayster, and, in a word, of the whole plain, and the several ancient ruins I have been describing.

Before we leave Ephesus, let us just look back into history, and single out some of the most remarkable events that have relation to that city, from the time of its happy and flourishing condition, to its present state of desolation and obscurity. To search after the names of the founders of Ephesus would be a laborious and fruitless enquiry; for it is of no great consequence to know whether it was built by the Amazons, or Androclus, or one of the sons of Cod-

rus king of Athens. We find the city made some figure during the wars between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and was generally so politic and careful of her own interest, as to keep a good understanding with the strongest side. Alexander the Great after the battle of the Granicus, came to Ephesus, and there established a democracy; the place was taken by Lysimachus, one of his successors; and Antigonus in his turn got possession of it, and there seized the treasures of Polyspechhon.

History tells us that Hannibal had an interview with Antiochus at Ephesus, to concert measures against the Romans. The pro-consul Manlius spent the winter there after he had defeated the Galatians. A terrible massacre was made of the Romans in this city, by order of Mithridates. Pompey and Cicero, the last of whom made no step in Greece without finding new subjects of admiration, did not fail to visit so renowned a city as Ephesus. But Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, did not shew any great respect for this place, for he seized the treasures of Diana's temple. St. Paul's preaching at Ephesus is well known to Christians; and it is thought that St John, after our Saviour's death, chose this city for his residence: it is certain, he retired thither when he was released from his banishment, and there wrote his gospel, as has been already observed; and in this city St. Timothy the first pastor of the Ephesian church, is said to have suffered martyrdom. Augustus honoured Ephesus with a visit, and the inhabitants erected temples to Julius Cæsar and to the city of Rome. Tiberius rebuilt great part of it: on the other hand, the Persians plundered it in the third century, and not long afterwards it suffered

in the same manner from the Scythians. In all probability the celebrated temple of Diana was finally destroyed under Constantine, in consequence of an edict of that emperor, whereby he commanded that all heathen temples should be demolished.

This city was too considerable to be overlooked, and consequently was exposed to the ravages of the Mahometans as well as its neighbours. Anna Comnena relates, that the infidels having made themselves masters of Ephesus in the reign of her father Alexis, he sent thither John Ducas his father-in-law with a body of troops, who defeated the Mahometans in the Ephesian plain below the citadel, taking two thousand of them prisoners. As this battle was near the ancient citadel, of which it is probable that Comnena speaks, it is evident that a fine part of the city must have been destroyed. In the beginning of the thirteenth century Theodorus Lascaris made himself master of Ephesus. The Mahometans returned thither again in the reign of Andronicus Paleologus, who came to the throne in the year 1283, Mantachias, one of their princes, conquered all Caria; and was succeeded by Homur, son of Atin, prince of Smyrna.

After the battle of Angora, the victorious Tamerlane commanded all the little princes of Asia Minor to come and join him at Ephesus, and spent a whole month in plundering the city and the neighbouring country; carrying away, according to Ducas, not only the gold, silver, and jewels, but even the very cloaths of the inhabitants. Soon after the departure of the conqueror, Cineites, a great Turkish captain, son of Carasupasi, who had been governor of Smyrna under Bajazet, declared war against the children of

Atin, who had settled at Ephesus. He immediately ravaged the country at the head of five hundred men; and afterwards, with a larger number of troops, attacked and took the citadel. But some time after, another Homur, brother of the former, (who was then dead) entered into a league with Mantachias prince of Caria, who assisted him with an army of six thousand men, with which they marched to besiege Ephesus. Carasupasi, the father of Cineites commanded in the city; having a garrison of three thousand men; and his son Cineites was then at Smyrna. The Ephesians made a vigorous defence: notwithstanding which, the besiegers found means to set fire to the city, and in two days time the greatest part of it was reduced to ashes. Carasupasi retired to the citadel, and held out bravely for a considerable time; but his son being not able to send him any succours, he at length surrendered to Mantachias, who restored Ephesus and its territory to Homur, and imprisoned Carasupasi and his principal officers in the castle of Mamalus, on the borders of Caria. Hereupon Cineites went on board a galley, and sailed to Manalus; and having given his father notice of his arrival, he and his fellow-prisoners plied the guards with liquor till they made them drunk, and then taking the advantage of their insensibility, they let themselves down the walls of the castle by ropes, and escaped to Smyrna. Having a little recovered themselves, at the beginning of the winter they undertook the siege of Ephesus, when Homur, in his turn, was forced to retire into the citadel, the city being abandoned to the soldiers, who committed all manner of outrages without restraint. In the midst of these calamities, however, peace was

made between the contending parties, and Cineites gave Homur his daughter in marriage. Ephesus afterwards fell into the hands of Mahomet the First, who having overcome not only all his brothers, but all the Mahometan princes who opposed and embarrassed him, remained at last in peaceable possession of the empire: and from that time the Turks have continued masters of Ephesus; but the place is now inconsiderable, its trade having been removed to Smyrna and Scalanova.

On the 10th of November we set out from Ephesus for Smyrna, attended by the same Janizary who had conducted us from Scalanova, who was well acquainted with the several roads, and on whom we thought our safety in a great measure depended. About a mile and a half from the castle of Ephesus we passed the river Cayster over a handsome bridge, built chiefly with antique marbles, under which the stream runs very swiftly, and turns some mills at a little distance. As we travelled along the valley, we had steep frightful mountains on our left; but after riding a few miles they had a more agreeable aspect, being covered with woods of fine olive-trees, which grow without any culture, and yet bear excellent fruit, much more than the people of the country are able to gather. The road from hence over the mountains, which is the nearest, is most infested with robbers; upon which account our Janizary advised us to keep to the Eastward along the plain, where we could not be so easily surprised by those unwelcome visitors. After travelling five or six hours, sometimes through woods, and sometimes in an open country, with a range of mountains still on our left, we came to a large Turkish burying-ground,

where abundance of broken pillars and other marbles are set up for grave-stones; and at some distance we discovered several pieces of old wall and other ruins, from whence it is evident that a large city has stood here formerly; but we could not find any inscription to ascertain its name, nor get any information on that head from the ignorant natives hereabout. On the brow of the adjacent mountain is a little village called Cabagia, consisting of twenty or thirty houses, the inhabitants whereof have a tradition among them, that there was once a city in that neighbourhood; which is all they know of the matter. Some have conjectured that it was the ancient Metropolis, but others think that city stood somewhat nearer Smyrna, where there is a village called Tourbali, which perhaps is a corruption of the name Metropolis.

Keeping still under the mountain, we sometimes travelled on an ancient military way, as appears from the pavement in several places; and having passed through two or three woods, wherein we observed many turpentine-trees as large as ashes or oaks in England, we came in the evening to the ruins of an aqueduct, which runs from the foot of the mountain a mile or two along the plain to the above-mentioned village of Tourbali. In this poor place we lay all night, meeting with mean accommodation, but however as good as could be expected; and the Turks treated us with civility on account of our Janizary, as we imagined; for otherwise, we understood, they are not very complaisant to strangers. When we came to look round the village in the morning, we found it full of old marbles, and even in our caravansera we saw some columns of a whitish granite; but I do not remember that we met with one inscription.

We left this place about ten in the morning, having six hours journey from thence to Smyrna; and in a short time we crossed several little streams, and one that may deserve to be called a river, but I neither know their ancient nor modern names. Hereabout we began to wind towards the left, and at last came into the direct road beyond the mountains at a town called Jemourasi, having thus, by the prudence of our guide, avoided a great deal of fatigue and danger. At this place we took some refreshment, but did not stay long enough to make any particular observations: it seemed, however, to be as pretty a village as we had seen in these parts, the little mosques and sepulchres surrounded with cyprus-trees making it look very delightful. From hence we continued our journey over a large plain, for the most part uncultivated, and in many places covered with shrubs, and here and there some pine-trees intermixed. As we drew near Smyrna, the military way above mentioned appeared very plainly, being paved with large square stones, and still remaining entire for a considerable length. Just before we entered the city, our road led us over a hill, from whence we had a fine view of the plain we had crossed; and descending into the valley we passed a small stream that runs behind the castle, and arrived in good health at our former lodgings in Franks-Street about five in the evening, where we met with a hearty welcome from our generous friends and acquaintance.

In our way between Ephesus and Smyrna we took a Tree-Frog; which the Greeks call Spordaca; and bringing it alive to our apartment, we kept it several days upon a branch of lentisk, during which time it afforded us an agreeable amusement; and the animal

in my opinion, is such a curiosity in nature; that it deserves a particular description. Its size and shape is like that of other frogs, but it is of a deep green colour; and when it lies close to the ground, it resembles one half of a large walnut with the convex part uppermost, for its feet are then so doubled underneath it, that they are not to be discerned, although the common frogs love to be always among the grass or in the water, these delight to climb shrubs, bushes, and trees, and to sit chirping on the twigs and branches. For this purpose nature has made a peculiar provision, its toes ending in little round knobs, about the bigness of a pin's head, from whence issue such a clammy substance, as enables it to jump from one bough to another with very little danger of falling; for if it touch the smallest twig, or the smoothest leaf, with any one of its feet, it sticks to it so fast, that it thereby surprisingly recovers its whole body. This perhaps may seem incredible to those who have not seen it, but I have observed it several times; nor could I perceive that it held by grasping, as birds and squirrels do, but merely by the strength of that gluttinous matter before-mentioned, which I suppose it can emit or retain at pleasure. I put it into water, and found it would swim like other frogs; but it never offered to dive, and endeavoured to get out of that cold element as soon as possible.

The winter now came on apace, and the great rains began to fall, which overflowed many of the plains, and made the roads almost impassible; and indeed we had frequent storms and tempestuous weather, attended with thunder and lightning, all the remaining part of the year; for it is remarkable,

that in the Levant, especially throughout the Archipelago, they have seldom any rain or thunder but in winter, whereas in our climate we have most thunder in summer, and the heaviest showers. This prevented our making excursions into the neighbouring country, as we intended to have done during our stay at Smyrna; but perhaps it was a means of preserving our health, at least it afforded us an opportunity of rest and refreshment after the fatigues we had undergone, and, by giving us fresh spirits and vigour, made us the more able to encounter the dangers and hardships we might still reasonably expect to meet with before we had brought our travels to a conclusion. What made this gloomy season pass away the more agreeably, was the good company of our countrymen and other European merchants, who maintain a cheerful correspondence one with another, by whom we were accommodated with every thing even beyond our desires, and treated with all the tokens of a sincere and generous friendship. In a word, we had elegant fare, accompanied with charming conversation; and in particular we spent our Christmas, the usual time of feasting and rejoicing among Christians, with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, paying and receiving mutual visits and compliments, and indulging ourselves in innocent mirth, with the same freedom as if we had been in our native country, or any other part of Europe.

The beginning of the new year we began to look out carefully for a passage to Sidon, where the French have a consul who goes annually to Jerusalem, as has been already mentioned, to whom our good friend and companion M. Du Marais was to

carry letters from the consul of the same nation at Smyrna. After we had waited with impatience till the middle of January, but to no purpose, we thought it not proper to let slip an opportunity that offered, of embarking in a Turkish saick or merchantman bound to Tripoly in Syria, which was also to touch at Rhodes and Cyprus. Accordingly we made a bargain with the master of the vessel; put our tents and other baggage on board, and having taken a hearty farewell of our European friends, whose kindness we ought always to remember and mention with the utmost gratitude, we sailed from Smyrna the 18th of January 1733-4, with a favourable gale at East, and as pleasant weather as could be expected in the winter season.

Having got safely out of the bay of Smyrna, and doubled Cape Carabouron, we put into the port of Scio to wait for a North wind to carry us out of the Archipelago; and the wind happily coming about to that point the next morning, we weighed anchor, and the day following passed by the Western Cape of Samos, leaving Nicaria and the isles of Fourni on our right. In this Cape of Samos the sailors tell us there appears a light in the night-time, which is plainly to be seen at sea, but is invisible on shore; and the place being so steep that no person can be supposed to inhabit there, they will needs have the fire to be miraculous*; but as we sailed by this island

* M. Thevenot says he saw this light, and considered it attentively for the space of an hour, it appearing to be about two hundred paces from the sea-side, and rising and falling like a candle; and, in short, he seems to believe it is miraculous: but M. Tournefort, not quite so superstitious as his countryman, says he is persuaded of the contrary; and supposing that any such fire was

in the day-time, I can neither deny nor confirm their assertion. On the 23d we left the isle of Patmos to the Westward, and the next day passed by abundance of little islands, most of them uninhabited, and all of them so inconsiderable as not to deserve any particular notice. The 24th we were becalmed off the island called Lango by the Turks, Stanchio by the Greeks, and anciently Cos Coos.

This island affords a pleasant prospect as we approach it, being for the most part a fine level country, but rising gradually into hills towards the East, from whence several little streams fall into the plain, and render it exceeding fruitful. It is about eighty miles in circumference, lying twelve miles distant from the South-West part of the Continent of Nattolia; and has one large town in it of the same name with the island, which has a good harbour defended by a castle. The Turkish galleys frequently lie in this port, and their shipping often touch here in their passage from Constantinople to Egypt. The country abounds with cyprus and turpentine-trees*, and is furnished with variety of plants that are valuable for their medicinal virtues: and as for

ever perceived, he doubts not but it was kindled either by the monks or shepherds, partly to divert themselves, and partly to keep up the belief of the great miracle; as it is called by the priests of the island.

* M. Thevenot tells us of a tree in this island, whose branches spread to such a vast distance from its trunk, that two thousand men might easily stand under its shade. He says its boughs were supported by props of timber and pillars of stone, there being several barbers' shops, coffee-houses, and such like places underneath it, with a great many seats and benches. He adds, that the tree was like a sycamore, but bore a fruit like a chesnut. As to the truth of this account, I leave it to the reader's judgment.

the wines of Coos, we find them famous in antiquity†. The present inhabitants are most of them Greeks, as in the other islands of the Archipelago, except the Turkish garrison of the town and castle.

As our vessel lay off this island, the sight of it naturally brought to our memory some of those eminent men to whom it formerly gave birth, who have rendered their names immortal, and done honour to their profession and to their native country. At the head of these stands that prince of physicians Hippocrates, whose superior abilities so established his reputation, that both Ancients and Moderns are unanimous in giving him his just applause. In the time of this great man a pestilence made terrible devastation in several parts of the world; which is said to have begun in Ethiopia, from thence to have passed into Lybia and Egypt, then to have invaded Judea, Phœnicia, Syria, and the whole Persian empire, and lastly to have spread itself into Greece, and broke in upon Athens like a raging torrent. Thucydides, who was seized with that distemper, but recovered, and afterwards freely visited many others that were afflicted with it, has described very minutely the several circumstances and symptoms that attended it; in order, as he himself says, that a faithful and exact account of that calamity, might serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like

† The wines of this island were reckoned loosening and purgative by the Ancients, as appears from that passage of Horace,

——“ Si dura morabitur alvus,

“ Mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchæ,

“ Et lapathi brevis herba; sed albo non sine Coo.”

Sat. IV. Lib. II.

And upon the same account they are called “lubrica,” that is “alvum solventia,” by Persians, Sat. V. 135.

should ever happen again. Lucretius has also given us a poetical description of it, and Hippocrates, who was employed in visiting the sick, has written of it as a physician.

This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art, and the most robust constitutions were not able to withstand its attacks: in a word, it swept away vast numbers at Athens, and amongst the rest Pericles, one of the greatest men that city ever produced; who, while he lived, was the main stay and support of the Athenian republic, and who perhaps is the only one of whom it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. He acted, as an excellent historian observes, with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness, and zeal for the public good; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians, and fixed in his own favour, during the long time he was in power, their natural fickleness and inconstancy. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all citizens distinguished by their merit and authority: and the most surprising circumstance is, he gained this great ascendancy merely by persuasion, without employing force, low artifices, or any of those little shifts which a mean politician excuses in himself, upon the specious pretence that the necessity of public affairs and reasons of state makes them necessary.—But to come to what relates to Hippocrates.

The plague, as has been hinted already, had made grievous havoc in Persia, before it spread itself into

Attica: upon which occasion Artaxerxes, the Persian monarch, who had heard of the great reputation of Hippocrates, caused him to be invited by letters to come into his dominions, in order to prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers, setting no bounds to his rewards on the side of interest, and, with regard to honours, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons of his court. But all the tempting glitter of the Persian riches and dignities could not corrupt Hippocrates, or stifle that hatred and aversion which the Grecians had entertained for the Persians, ever since those Asiatics had invaded their country. The honest physician therefore sent this answer to his invitation, That he was free from either wants or desires, that he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen, and that he would not leave the Grecians in distress, to give his assistance to barbarians. Artaxerxes, enraged at this denial to the highest degree, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he then resided, commanding the inhabitants to deliver him up, that he might be punished according to his insolence and perverseness; and threatening, in case of refusal, to demolish their city, and lay waste their whole island. The Coans, however, let this haughty monarch know, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to make them comply on another occasion, and that his threats should be equally impotent on the present; that, let the consequence be what it would, they would never give up their fellow-citizen into his hands; and that they relied upon the gods for protection.

As Hippocrates had said that he owed himself en-

tirely to his country, so the moment he was sent for to Athens he went thither accordingly, and continued there while the plague raged with the greatest fury: nor did he leave the city till it was quite free from that distemper. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick, and sent several of his disciples into the infected parts of the country, after he had instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians, affected with the deepest sense of gratitude for the generous care and attendance of this great physician, ordained by a public decree, that he should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter; that a crown of gold should be presented him; and that the decree by which it was granted should be read aloud by an herald at the Panathenæa *, a solemn festival celebrated at Athens in hon-

* This festival was first instituted by Erichonius or Orpheus, and called simply Athenæa; but was renewed and enlarged by Theseus, when he had united the several towns of Attica into one city, and then called Panathenæa, or the feast of all the Athenians. At first it continued only one day, but afterwards was prolonged several days, and celebrated with greater preparations and magnificence then was usual in the primitive times. There were two solemnities of this name, the great, and the little; the former of which was kept once in five years, and the latter every third year, or rather as some think, annually. In these feasts were exhibited racing, gymnastic exercises, and contentions for the prizes of music and poetry, which last were first instituted by Pericles: and ten commissaries, elected out of the ten tribes of the Athenians, presided on these occasions, to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. The first day in the morning a race was run by persons on foot, each carrying a lighted torch in his hand; and in the afternoon they ran the same course on horseback. The gymnastic or athletic combats followed the races; and lastly the musical contention, in which were sung

our of Minerva: that the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the public charge, in the Prytaneum, all his life-time, if he thought proper: in fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, which had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and educated in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been natives of that city.

Though Hippocrates carried the art of healing to such a pitch of perfection, it is sunk at present to the lowest ebb amongst the ignorant Greeks of the Archipelago, and even those of the Continents of Europe and Asia. The physicians all over the Levant, says M. Tournefort, are generally Jews or natives of Candia, old nurselings of Padua, who dare purge none but such as are upon the mending hand. The whole science of the orientals, in matter of distempers, consists in giving of fat broths to such as are in a fever, and in reducing their diet next to nothing; that is, for the first fifteen or sixteen days of a continual fever, they will not suffer the patient to take any thing but a slender panada twice a-day,

the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons, to which was added the elogium of Thrasybulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. Sacrifices were also offered at these solemnities, towards which every one of the Athenian boroughs contributed an ox; and of the flesh that remained a public entertainment was made for the whole assembly. In the greater festival most of the same rites and ceremonies were performed as in the lesser, but perhaps with more splendor and magnificence with the addition of some others, particularly the grand procession wherein Minerva's sacred garment was carried, upon which were curiously described the achievements of that goddess against the giants, and also the effigies of Jupiter; the heroes, and such as had distinguished themselves by their valiant and noble exploits in the service of their country.

or two doses of rice-water. Thus fares it with these poor Greeks, whom the slightest fever, with their way of managing, reduces to skin and bones, and they are whole years in recovering. Hippocrates, (adds the above-mentioned French traveller) the most learned of all the Greek physicians, had good reason to condemn this outrageous method of dieting, and prescribes purgatives as soon as ever the symptoms sufficiently appear. If the patient grows light-headed, (continues the same writer) he is presently looked upon as possessed by the devil; the physicians and surgeons are immediately dismissed, and the papas are sent for; who, after they have extolled the wise conduct of his parents or relations, fall to repeating certain prayers, and almost drown the patient with holy water; and so torment him with exorcisms, that, instead of abating, they add to his delirium.

As the island of Cos gave birth to Hippocrates the chief of physicians, so it did likewise to Apelles * the most celebrated painter of antiquity, who drew that famous picture of Venus rising naked out of the sea, which being hung up in one of the principal temples of the island, was from thence conveyed to Rome and dedicated to Cæsar, that goddess being

* Our author, probably deceived by some authority or other which he relied upon without examination, has involved himself in a contradiction; for not long ago (p. 101. of this book) he made Apelles a native of Ephesus, whereas that painter was born in Cos according to all authors that I have consulted. I thought proper to point out this mistake to the reader, who doubtless will easily excuse it, considering that the best writers are liable to inadvertencies and errors.—“*Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*”

the supposed mother of the Julian family. This excellent artist flourished in the time of Alexander the Great, and was in high favour with that prince, who would suffer no other person but Apelles to draw his picture, nor any one to make his statue but Lysippus *. How well the painter succeeded in this particular, may be judged from an observation of Plutarch, that of two Alexanders, the one, begotten by Philip, was invincible; the other, drawn by Apelles, was inimitable. It is said he drew a picture of Campesse, one of Alexander's concubines, with whom he fell in love; which that prince understanding, generously resigned her to Apelles. Most authors say that Alexander had a taste for the whole circle of arts, and knew their value and usefulness; and that music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, flourished in his reign, because they found in him both a skilful judge and a generous protector, who was both able to distinguish and reward merit: but Ælian tells us a story, which gives us no good opinion of his judgment in painting, namely, that Apelles had drawn a fine horse, which piece Alexander did not much approve of, but that his horse fell a neighing at the sight of it; whereupon the painter freely told the monarch, that the steed seemed to understand paint-

* To this purpose he made a decree, as several authors inform us, particularly Horace,

“ Edicto vetuit ne quis se præter Apellem

“ Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra

“ Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia.”——

Lib. II. Epist. I. 239.

None but Apelles' hand shall paint my face,

None but Lysippus make me breath in brass:

So spake his edict.——

ing better than his master.—Several other eminent natives of this island might be enumerated, but the two already mentioned may suffice, as being the most distinguished.

On the 25th in the morning it blew a gentle gale from the North-West, which at length grew so strong, that it drove us from the course we intended to have kept along the coast of Natolia, and carried us between the island of Rhodes and Scarpanto. This latter, anciently called Carpathus, from whence the sea thereabout obtained the name of the Carpathian sea, is situated between Rhodes and Candia. It is about forty miles in compass, is for the most part mountainous and rocky, and has several good quarries of marble. The principal town is of the same name with the island, lies on the Western coast of it, and has a tolerable harbour. It is under the dominion of the Turks; but, as the seamen informed us, is chiefly inhabited by Christians of the Greek communion.

The 26th the wind coming to the South-West, we doubled the Southern promontory of Rhodes, and had a full view of Atabyrus, mentioned by Strabo. On the 27th in the morning we had heavy rain, with thunder and lightning; but the wind continuing fair, about two in the afternoon we came to an anchor in the harbour of Rhodes, the chief town of the island, situated on the Eastern coast. We lay ten days in this port, during which time we had an opportunity of viewing the place, and making several observations and inquiries; but it being uncertain how soon our vessel would sail, we made no excursions into the country.

Rhodes is the most considerable island in the East.

ern part of the Mediterranean, except Cyprus and Candia. It lies about twenty miles South of the Continent of Asia Minor, is threescore miles in length from North to South, and twenty-five miles broad in some places. It has formerly gone under the names of Asteria, Corymbia, Ethræa, and many others; and as for the name of Rhodes; some are of opinion it was so called by the Grecians, from a word in their language signifying a rose, on account of the great number of those flowers which the country produces; whilst others have recourse to fable, and say that it received that name from Rhoda, one of the daughters of Apollo and Venus.

The chief town or city of this island, called also Rhodes, stands partly on the rising of a hill, and is three miles in circumference. The streets are most of them broad, straight, and well paved; and in the middle of the largest street there is a pavement of white marble, about a foot broad, which runs from one end of it to the other. In this street the most of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, now commonly called the knights of Malta, are supposed to have resided, several of their coats of arms being still visible in the walls of their houses, which have been handsome buildings, but are now very much decayed. The palace of the grand master is at the upper end of the street, but is now converted into a prison for the chams of Tartary, whom the Grand Signior sometimes deposes and banishes to this place, and it is said he generally keeps some of the Tartarian princes here, to set up against the reigning cham, in case he disputes his orders. The church of St. John, which adjoins to this palace, is turned into a mosque; over the great gate whereof is a little niche, and above

that a bas-relief, but pretty much defaced, representing our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John holding the cross. The inhabitants of Rhodes, properly speaking, are only Turks and Jews; for as to the Christians, though they are allowed to have shops within the walls and to come thither and follow their business in the day-time, they are obliged to retire every night to their respective habitations without the city.

The fortifications of Rhodes are very considerable, it being defended by three walls and as many ditches, and is esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in the Turkish dominions. The town has two harbours, one of which is square and spacious, but it is rather too much exposed to the Easterly winds, and even to the North. When the knights were in possession of the island, they intended to have made another port near the castle of St. Angelo, which would have been secured from all winds whatever; but they lost the place before they could put their design in execution. On the right hand as we enter the port, the Turks have built a new tower, in the room of the old one which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, and have furnished it well with cannon. Over against this, on the other side of the port, is the old castle of St. Angelo above-mentioned, but it appears somewhat ruinous and neglected. This tower and castle at the mouth of the harbour, which is above fifty fathoms wide, are built upon the two spots of ground where stood the feet of the famous Colossus, one of the seven wonders of the world, of which I shall presently give a particular account.

There is a bastion on the sea-side, adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas, wherein are mounted nine or

ten very large guns, which entirely command the entrance of the greatest harbour. Next to this is the galley-port, which is covered by a tongue of a rock shooting out from the main land, whereon stands an old castle, called in the time of the knights the castle of St. Elmo. This is a good harbour and capable of containing a great number of galleys; but the mouth of it is so narrow that only one galley can enter at a time. It is every night shut up with a chain, laid across from the castle of St. Elmo to a little fort over against it, at the extremity of a mole which runs into the sea about five and twenty or thirty paces. At the other end of this mole, towards the land, stands another little tower; and at a small distance from it there is a Turkish burying-ground, where are the sepulchres of the beys of Rhodes and other persons of distinction; covered over with handsome cupolas of free-stone, supported by columns and arches. There is a piazza, or square on the side of the galley-port, planted with trees and adorned with an agreeable fountain; and near the bottom of the port is the arsenal, where they build galleys and saicks.

The walls of the city, especially towards the great harbour, are very high and strong, on the top of which are planted many small pieces of cannon, and below there are port-holes for the largest. Over against the bastion that is between the two ports, stands a good tower encompassed with a ditch, which has several great guns mounted upon it, to hinder any suspected ships from approaching the harbour. The fortifications on the land-side are said to be equally strong, but strangers cannot view them with the same liberty, for fear of giving offence to the

Turks, and being looked upon as spies or designing persons.

On the side of the town towards the land there are two gates, and one towards the sea, over which last is placed the head of a dragon, which they tell us did incredible mischief formerly in this island, and wasted all the country, till it was killed by Deodate de Gozen, a Frenchman, one of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. These knights, it seems, frequently attacked it, but the scales being proof against their arms, it destroyed so many of them, that the grand master at length ordered them to make no more attempts of that kind; but Gozen, however, by the assistance of a couple of dogs, destroyed afterwards this terrible monster. For my part, I give but very little credit to stories of this nature, and therefore shall not amuse the reader with the circumstance of this pretended combat, which deserves to be ranked with that of St. George, and such like romantic fables. However, that there is a head over the gate is certain, which is every way as big as a horse's head, with a snout somewhat resembling that of a hog. The top of it is flat, its eyes are large, and the jaws of it are slit up to the ears, having long sharp teeth both above and below. Its skin appears to be very hard, and of a greyish colour; but this last particular, by reason of the dust that sticks to it, cannot be positively determined. What creature this head belonged to, I shall not pretend to affirm; but I am inclined to think it is no other than that of a crocodile, which might probably be brought from Egypt to this island.

The air of Rhodes is reckoned very healthful, and the country is exceeding pleasant, cloathed with trees

and herbage almost continually green; and the sky is generally so serene and clear, that seldom a day passes wherein the sun does not shine upon it, if we may depend upon Pliny's observation. How true this may be, if considered with respect to the whole island, I cannot say; but this I am sure of, that whilst we lay in the port of Rhodes, we had not sight of the sun for two or three days together. The country affords every thing necessary for the support of its inhabitants, and plenty of those things which render life agreeable, especially wines*, which are very much admired; though it must be acknowledged they have not abundance of corn, but then they are well supplied with it from the neighbouring Continent of Natolia.

The celebrated Colossus of Rhodes, of which I promised to give an account, was a brazen statue of a prodigious size, whose face represented the sun or Apollo, to whom this image was dedicated. The height of it was seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and every part proportionable, the thumb being so big that few men could grasp it with their arms, and every finger of the size of an ordinary statue. One of its feet stood on one side of the mouth of the harbour, and the other on

* Amongst the several species of vines which Virgil enumerates, he does not forget to mention the Rhodian:

“Non ego te, mensis et Diis accepta secundis,

“Transierim, Rhodia” ————— Georg. II. 101.

From whence it seems as if the wine of this island was frequently used by the Romans in their libations; and accordingly Mr. Dryden has thus translated the passage:

The Rhodian, sacred to the solemn day,

In second services is pour'd to Jove,

And best accepted by the gods above.

the opposite side, as already mentioned; so that ships under sail passed between its legs *. Demetrius Poliorcetes, having come to an accommodation with the Rhodians, after he had besieged their city for a twelvemonth without being able to take it, presented them, at his departure, with all the military engines he had employed in carrying on the siege. These they afterwards sold for three hundred talents, (about three hundred thousand crowns) which they expended, together with an additional sum of their own, in erecting this wonderful Colossus. Chares, a native of Lindus, another town in the island, who had been educated under that great artist Lysippus, was the statuary employed in the work, which he was twelve years in completing; having begun it in the year before Christ 300, and finished it in the year 288.

Sixty-six years after this, that is, 222 years before our Saviour, Rhodes suffered very great damage by a violent earthquake. The walls of the city, the arsenals, and most of the houses, were reduced to

* A modern historian, after having described this enormous statue, gives us his sentiments concerning it, which seem to me to be very judicious. "I find it doubted, says he, by some of our
"moderns, whether there ever was such a statue as the Colossus
"above-mentioned; and indeed the extravagant dimensions ascribed to it would tempt the most credulous to doubt the truth of
"this relation, were it not mentioned by so many writers of reputation, and at a time when learning was at the height, and there
"were so many ingenious men among the Greeks and Romans,
"who would infallibly have contradicted the story, if it had been
"altogether a fiction. What I am inclined therefore to believe
"of this Colossus is, that there was at Rhodes an image dedicated
"to the sun of a prodigious size and dimension; but that from
"some hyperbolical or figurative expressions used by some writers, which others have taken to be literally true, the dimensions
"have been considerably magnified beyond the real size."

a ruinous condition; and this mighty Colossus, which seemed to be proof against the injuries of time, was thrown down and demolished. The loss occasioned by this earthquake amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputies to all the neighbouring states and princes, imploring relief in that melancholy conjuncture. It is said indeed, that they represented their condition worse than it was in reality, and exaggerated their losses to a great degree: but however that be, an emulation worthy of praise, and scarce to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that unfortunate city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two Sicilian princes contributed above a hundred talents to repair the loss sustained by the Rhodians, and erected two statues in the public square, one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse; the former placing a crown on the latter, to testify, as Polybius interprets it, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, besides other expences amounting to a considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of bushels of corn, timber sufficient for building twenty galleys, and a vast quantity of wood for other uses; all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and several other princes, as well as cities, distinguished themselves by their liberality to the sufferers. Even private persons strove to have a share in this noble act of humanity; where-

of history gives us a remarkable instance in a lady whose name was Chryseis, who from her own substance contributed a hundred thousand bushels of corn towards the relief of the distressed Rhodians.

By these extraordinary liberalities Rhodes was rebuilt in a few years, and raised to a higher pitch of opulence and splendor than she had ever before experienced; for some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. But in my opinion, this people behaved a little dishonourably in return for so much kindness and generosity; for instead of employing the sums they had received in replacing the Colossus, according to the intention of several of the donors, they pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid them to do it, and commanded them to reserve that money for other purposes, thus the Colossus lay neglected on the ground for the space of eight hundred and ninety-four years; at the expiration of which, that is, in the year of our Lord 672, Moawias, the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, having made himself master of Rhodes, sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which therefore, allowing eight hundred pounds weight to each load, (beside the diminution we may reasonably suppose the statue had suffered by rust, and probably by theft, in so long a course of time) amounted to seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight, or three hundred and sixty tons: a prodigious quantity of brass to be employed in forming one single statue!

As I have mentioned the siege of Rhodes by De-

metrius, permit me to give an instance of his behaviour there, which I think greatly redounds to his honour, as it shews his taste for the arts, and his esteem for those who particularly distinguished themselves in improving and bringing them to perfection. Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was native of Caunus a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he exercised his profession was in the suburbs, without the walls of the city, when Demetrius first invested it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the perpetual din of arms, could induce him to discontinue his work, or quit his habitation. Demetrius, being surprised at his conduct, one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding; to which the painter answered, It is because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the arts and sciences. Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually shewed himself their protector; ordering a guard to be placed round his house, that the artist might enjoy as much tranquillity as possible, at least security in the midst of those ravages and tumults wherewith war is always accompanied. The prince also frequently went to see Protogenes at work, and could never sufficiently admire his continual application, and his superior excellency in the art of painting.

The master-piece of this painter was an historical picture relating to a fabulous hero whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder. Protogenes had employed seven years in finishing this piece; and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported

with admiration. During the whole time he applied himself to work, if we may believe Pliny, he confined himself to a very rigid and abstemious life, that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet; living chiefly on boiled lupines, a kind of pulse which satisfied his thirst as well as hunger. This admirable piece was carried to Rome, and hung up in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at last destroyed by fire, sharing the fate of the temple wherein it was deposited.

The same Pliny informs us, that one of the figures in this picture was a dog*, which was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter a great deal of pains and application, without his being able to finish it to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently pleased with all the rest of the performance. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting and foaming at the mouth, as after a long chace; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on that occasion, but still remained dissatisfied with what he had done. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere resemblance could not please him, nor scarce any thing

* Est in eâ, canis mire factus, ut quem pariter casus et aris pinxerint. Non judicabat se exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfecisse. Displicebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, et videbatur nimia, ac longius à veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi, none ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu, cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile, vellet. Absternerat sæpius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi approbans. Postremò, iratus arti quòd intelligeretur, spongiam eam impeget invisio loco tabulæ, et illa reposuit ablatos colores, qualiter cura optabat; fecitque in picturâ fortuna naturam. Plin. Lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

but reality itself; for he was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but be thought actually flowing out of the mouth of the animal. He frequently retouched this part, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express the ideas he had formed in the most natural and lively manner. All his attempts, however, were ineffectual, till at last, despairing of ever coming up to his design, and falling into a violent passion, he threw at the dog's mouth the sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, whereby the foam was represented to his satisfaction, and thus chance accomplished what art had not been able to effect.

This great artist is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently, sometimes diminishing by that means, instead of heightening their beauties. Apelles, who allowed Protogenes to have had a great number of excellent qualities, and almost regarded him as his equal, or even as his master, yet condemned in him this defect, of not knowing when to finish his works and lay down his pencil; which want of discretion, as Cicero observes, or not knowing when to have done, is very pernicious to an orator as well as a painter; and indeed it is a fault to which the wisest of men are extremely liable on many occasions.

Before I leave Rhodes, it may not be disagreeable to look a little into the history of that island. According to Dr. Heylin, it was first peopled by Dodanim the youngest son of Javan, and grandson of Japhet, whom the Greeks called Rhodanim, and from whom he supposes the country derived its name. This change of the D into R, which letters into the Hebrew are scarcely to be distinguished, is perhaps

as good a shift as to extract the name of Doris, and the Dorians, in Peloponnesus, from the same Dodanim. But nothing is more obscure and uncertain than the origin and pedigree of nations, especially when we depend entirely upon the resemblance of names, which are frequently strained and altered to serve a hypothesis, without any other authority to support our conjectures. I shall therefore leave disputes of this nature to those who have more leisure or inclination to pursue them, and only meddle with such parts of the Rhodians history as are free from doubt and obscurity.

About three hundred and fifty-eight years before our Saviour, we find Rhodes, Chios, Cos, and Byzantium taking up arms against Athens, upon which they had been long dependant: but a peace was concluded three years afterwards, whereby those cities were left in full enjoyment of their liberty. The freedom of the Rhodians, however, was of a short continuance; for Mausolus, king of Caria who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them; and having openly declared himself in favour of the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the conclusion of the above-mentioned peace, and was succeeded by his queen Artemisia; who, being supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, maintained her power in Rhodes and the other islands lately subjected by her husband.

We are informed by Vitruvius, that, after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, not liking the government of Artemisia, attempted to dethrone her; and for that purpose sailed from Rhodes with their

fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen, having had notice of their design, gave the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and upon the enemy's arrival to raise great shouts, and shew other signs of joy, as if they were ready to surrender the city. This was done accordingly; and the Rhodians, being deceived by the stratagem, quitted their ships in haste, leaving no guard to take care of them, and ran confusedly into the town without any apprehension of danger. In the mean time Artemisia came out with her galleys from the little port, through a small canal which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet without opposition, and, having put her own soldiers and marines on board it, set sail immediately; while the poor Rhodians were all put to the sword, having no means of escaping. As the queen advanced toward Rhodes, the inhabitants, seeing their vessels adorned with wreaths of laurel, made no doubt but their fleet had been victorious, and accordingly received it into their harbour, with great acclamations and rejoicings. Thus Artemisia got possession of the city without resistance, put the principal inhabitants to death, caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass, one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other herself branding it with a hot iron. —All this does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation, as Artemisia is represented by most writers; which make it reasonable to suspect the truth of some accounts we meet with of the excessive mourning of that princess.

The Rhodians being thus entirely enslaved by Ar-

temisia, and unable to support any longer so severe and shameful a servitude, had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves utterly unworthy of it by their revolt, yet Demosthenes undertook to harangue the people in their behalf; and having set forth their crime in its full light, and enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy, he then lays before the Athenians the great maxims which in all ages had constituted the glory of that republic; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory he annexes those of interest; shewing the importance of assisting a city that favoured the democratical form of government, and of not abandoning so valuable an island. But whatever effect this discourse of Demosthenes had, it is very probable that the death of Artemisia, who survived her husband only two years, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty.

From this time it appears that the Rhodians applied themselves to navigation and commerce, and became very considerable for their naval power. Their island held the first rank among those of the Mediterranean, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the safety of its ports and roads, and on that account was resorted to by great numbers of trading vessels from Europe, Asia, and Africa. It then formed a small but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes; and it endeavoured to oblige them all, by observing an exact neutrality, and not intermeddling in the wars and quarrels of its neighbours. As the Rhodians were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and

their riches from their commerce, which therefore they were sensible it was their principal business to preserve as free as possible with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to their prosperity. By persisting in this prudent conduct, the Rhodians had rendered their city very flourishing; and as they had long enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, they became extremely opulent. But notwithstanding they appeared to maintain an impartial neutrality, their inclination and interest both attached them to Ptolemy king of Egypt, with which country they carried on a large and advantageous commerce. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally: but this prudent answer drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the severest menaces; and accordingly, upon his return from his Egyptian expedition, he sent his son Demetrius with a numerous fleet and army, to chastise their insolence, as he termed it, and to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance; and the preparations on each side were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with two hundred ships of war of different dimensions, and about a hundred and seventy transports, that carried above forty thousand men, without including the cavalry: he had likewise near a thousand small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The siege, in a word, was one of the most remarkable that we meet with in ancient his-

tory: the city being defended by a brave people, who had able commanders, and had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and attacked on the other hand, by so formidable an enemy as Demetrius, who had a surprisingly inventive genius for forming machines of war, and who was one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in conducting of sieges, that antiquity ever produced. To relate the particulars of this siege, which lasted a whole year, as has been already observed, would be too tedious and inconsistent with my present design, which is only to give a summary of the Rhodian history. It was put an end to at last by a treaty of peace, wherein the besieged obtained very honourable terms, viz. That the republic of Rhodes should retain the enjoyment of its rights, privileges, and liberty, without being subject to any power whatsoever: that the alliance which had always subsisted between the republic and Antigonus should be renewed and confirmed, with an obligation on the part of the Rhodians to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not against Ptolemy: and the city was to deliver an hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the stipulated articles.

I have already related, that Demetrius, upon raising the siege, made the Rhodians a present of all his machines of war, which they sold, and employed the money in erecting the Colossus. That statue has likewise been described, and an account given of its destruction by an earthquake, a calamity whereby Rhodes sustained prodigious damages, but which were amply repaired by the compassionate liberality of the neighbouring states and princes, and that city quickly restored to its former opulence and splendor.

No sooner where the Rhodians recovered from the distressed condition, but a war broke out between them and the Byzantines, on occasion of an impost which the latter had laid on all ships that passed through the Bosphorus; a tribute that was very grievous to the Rhodians because of the great trade they carried on in the Black Sea. This war, however, did not last long; for the Rhodians having found means to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, on whose assistance they chiefly depended, a peace was concluded between the two states, the Byzantines consenting to put things upon the ancient footing and to take off the tribute which had occasioned the rupture.

About two hundred years before the Christian æra, Philip, king of Macedonia, was engaged in a war with the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Miletus: but Attalus, king of Pergamus, having joined his fleet to that of the Rhodians, Philip was defeated in a second battle off the island of Chios, wherein he had nine thousand men killed, and a great number taken prisoners, with very little loss on the side of Attalus and the Rhodians.

Being apprehensive, however, of coming under the dominion of the Macedonians, the Rhodians thought it was most adviseable to side with the Romans, whom they faithfully assisted against the above-mentioned Philip, and afterwards against Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. Polyxenides, who had been banished from Rhodes, was an admiral in the service of Antiochus, and by a stratagem defeated Pausistratus, who had the command of the Rhodian fleet

appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or sunk nine and twenty of his ships, Pausistratus himself being killed in the engagement. The Rhodians, far from being discouraged by this great loss, only meditated revenge; and accordingly, with incredible diligence, fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former, and joined that of the Romans under the command of Æmilius. This new fleet of theirs being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing some of Antiochus's ships from Syria and Phœnicia, they met and fought him upon the coast of Pamphylia; and by the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Magiste near Patara, and there blocked him up so closely, as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the Syrian monarch.

For their services against Antiochus, the Rhodians had the provinces of Lycia and Caria, in Asia Minor, conferred upon them by the Romans, for whom they also signalized their zeal at the beginning of the war with Perseus; but afterwards, having sent ambassadors to Rome, and to the Roman army in Macedonia, who spoke there in favour of that prince with extraordinary insolence, they fell under the displeasure of the Romans, who even talked of declaring war against them. The Rhodians, alarmed at this, sent two new deputies to Rome, who having with much difficulty obtained an audience of the senate, appeared there as suppliants, with their faces bathed in tears and dressed in mourning habits. After the most abject submission, and long and warm solicitations, they were admitted, as they requested

to be, into the alliance of the Roman people; but, by way of punishment, they were deprived of the provinces of Lycia and Caria.

The Rhodians remained very faithful to the Romans during their wars with Mithridates king of Pontus, even when all the other islands of the Mediterranean and Ægean seas revolted to that prince; but at length, behaving themselves insolently towards the Roman state, they lost their independency, and their country was made a province of that empire; to which it continued subject, and afterwards by turns to the Greek emperors and the Saracens, till the year 1124, when it was reduced by the Venetians, but recovered by John Ducas in the year 1227. The Turks made a conquest of it in 1283; but the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, being driven from the Holy Land, made themselves masters of it about the year 1309, where they resisted the whole Turkish power for the space of two hundred years and upwards.

At length, in the year 1522, Solyman the Second, called the magnificent, being resolved to drive the knights out of this settlement, in which they had given his predecessors so much trouble, came before Rhodes in person with a numerous fleet, at a time when there were not above five thousand fighting men in the city, of whom six hundred wore the habit of the order, all of them men of undaunted courage and resolution, and commanded by their Grand Master de Villiers, a Frenchman, whose behaviour during the siege gained him great reputation. The Turkish fleet transported an army of two hundred thousand men, who received continual reinforcements and supplies of provisions from the neighbouring Continent.

of Natolia. In short, the siege was carried on with the greatest vigour and fury, and the place defended by the besieged with all imaginable bravery, till being reduced to the utmost extremity, the valiant knights were obliged to surrender the city and quit the island, which has ever since remained under the Ottoman dominion.

Our vessel sailed from Rhodes on the 6th of February in the morning, with a fresh gale at West, whereby we ran about ten miles an hour for the greatest part of the day, but the wind slackened in the evening, and before midnight we were quite becalmed. We had a continual rain till morning, and some thunder; but about nine in the forenoon a gentle gale sprung up again, and we had pleasant sailing all that and the following day. On the 9th it blew very hard, but more rain falling towards the evening, the wind abated. We did not make much way that night, but the next day we ran at least twenty-five leagues, and made the island of Cyprus a little before sun-set. The 11th in the morning we found ourselves off Cape de Gate, the most Southern point of the island; which having doubled, and passed by the point of Lymisso, and afterwards Cape Grega, we arrived the same evening in the harbour of Famagusta.

The island of Cyprus is situated in the most Easterly part of the Mediterranean, sixty miles South of the coast of Caramania, and thirty West of Syria; and is supposed to have taken its name from the great number of Cypress trees that grow in the country. It stretches from the South-West to the North-East, being about a hundred and fifty miles in length, and seventy in breadth in the widest part.

The capital of the island is Nicosia, at present the seat of the Turkish beglerbeg or viceroy, and formerly the residence of their kings. It stands near the middle of the country, and is about three miles in circumference, but much fallen to decay, as the people of Famagusta informed us.

The town of Famagusta, supposed to be the ancient Salamis, which was said to be built by Teucer when banished by his father*, stands on the Eastern

* When Teucer and his brother Ajax went to the siege of Troy, their father Telamon, it seems, gave them a strict charge, that neither of them should return home without the other. Ajax, however, having killed himself for anger, because the Grecians had adjudged Ulysses to have the armour of Achilles, Teucer ventured to return to his native country without him; but was expelled by his father, and is said to have settled in Cyprus and built Salamis, which was the name of the city and island in the Saronic gulf, whereof Telamon was sovereign. Horace, in one of his odes, has taken notice of this banishment of Teucer.

———“ Teucer Salamina patremque
 “ Cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyæo
 “ Tempora populeâ fertur vinixisse coronâ,
 “ Sic tristes affatus amicos:
 “ Quo nos cumque feret melior fortuna parente,
 “ Ibimus, ô socii comitesque.
 “ Nil desperandum Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro:
 “ Certus enim promisit Apollo,
 “ Ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina futuram. Lib. I. Od. 7.

When Teucer fled, distress'd by angry fate,
 His country, and his father's hate,
 With popular crowns he grac'd his drunken head,
 And thus to drooping friends he said:
 Whatever chance, the kinder parent, sends,
 We'll gladly bear my noble friends:
 Adieu fond care, despairing fears be gone,
 Whilst Teucer guides and leads you on;

part of the island, almost over against Tripoli in Syria. It is a place of considerable strength, and has a pretty good harbour, but the entrance is somewhat dangerous for vessels of large burthen. It is inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and some few Latins; but the Greeks are most numerous, as they are all over the island. While Cyprus was under the dominion of the Christians, it was well peopled, having no less than eight hundred or a thousand villages in it, besides several handsome cities; but since it has unhappily fallen under the Turkish yoke, they have spread ruin and desolation over the country, and it is now so thinly inhabited, that half the lands lie uncultivated; and the noble buildings, which the Venetians erected when they were masters of it, are most of them demolished. Many of the finest churches were taken from the Christians when the Turks conquered the island, and turned into mosques; particularly the cathedral church of St. Sophia in the city of Nicosia. In a word, as far as I can learn, the people are loaded with taxes, and in other respects are rigorously treated by their Mahometan masters, which occasions many of them to apostatize, and embrace the Turkish faith, at least in appearance; especially the wicked and profligate, who are generally observed to shake off the profession of Christianity, when it is attended with reproach and oppresison.

The other chief towns and ports of Cyprus are Baffo, Serines, Larneca, and Lymisso. Baffo, the ancient Paphos or Paphus, famous for its temple of

Unerring Phœbus says our hands shall raise

A city in another place,

Another Salamis. ————— CREECH.

Venus*, stands on the Western coast of the island, and Serines on the North. Larneca, or Selines, stands on the South side of the island, not far from Cape de Gate, and has a tolerable harbour. Lymisso, formerly Amathust, is situate on the South-East, and is now esteemed the best port in Cyprus.

The air of this country is for the most part hot and dry, and not very healthy; and there are but few springs and rivers in the island; so that if the rains do not fall plentifully at the usual seasons, the inhabitants are very much distressed for want of water. This is said to have been the case in the time of Constantine the Great, when the rains failing them for near thirty years together, the island was almost dispeopled, the natives being obliged to remove to other countries. The most remarkable mountain, or rather chain of mountains, in Cyprus, is called Olympus, a name common to several others,

* From hence Horace (Lib. I. Od. 30.) calls Venus the queen of Paphos; and Virgil makes her retire thither when she leaves Æneas and Achates.

“ Ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque revisit

“ Læta suas; ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo

“ Thure calent aræ, seitisque recentibus halant.” *Æn.* I. 419.

— — — — — The goddess flies sublime

To visit Paphos, and her native clime;

Where garlands ever green, and ever fair,

With vows are offer’d, and with solemn pray’r;

A hundred altars in her temple smoke,

A thousand bleeding hearts her pow’r invoke. DRYDEN.

† This city is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* X. 51. and had several mines in its neighbourhood according to Ovid, *Met.* X. 220. It was sacred to Venus, who is thence called Amathusia by Tacitus, and Pliny gives that name to the whole island. The city is said to have taken its name from the hot-baths near it, the steam or vapour of which is called Amathus in the Syrian language.

one in Natolia, another in Thessaly, and another in Arcadia. It is about fifty miles in circumference, great part of it covered with woods; and at the foot of it are fine vineyards, which afford excellent wine, and the inhabitants have not only enough for their own use, but export some of it to their neighbours. The island also produces a sufficient quantity of corn, though much of it lies uncultivated, as I have observed already; and if their harvest fails them for want of rain, they can easily be supplied from the Continent. The cattle they have is enough for their own consumption; many parts of the country abound with wild fowl and several sorts of game, and they have plenty of fish upon the sea-coasts. As to the trade of the island, it is pretty considerable, chiefly carried on by Jews and Armenians; and several European consuls and factors reside in the country. Their chief commodities, besides wine, are oil, cotton, wool, salt, some silk, and some turpentine.

There are several sorts of earth found in Cyprus, that are fit for the painter's use, especially red, black, and yellow; and it is likewise said to produce the Lapis Asbestos, or Amianthus, of which the Ancients made a kind of thread that would remain unconsumed in the most intense fire; and we have had some modern experiments of that nature, which have sufficiently proved that the thing is not a fiction. One inconvenience, which this island is subject to, and which I had like to have omitted, is the swarms of locusts that visit it in the hot season, appearing like clouds, and darkening the very sky, and would devour all the fruits of the earth, if they were not driven to sea by a North wind that usually blows about the time of their coming.

Not only particular towns here, but the whole island was anciently consecrated to Venus, who thence was called Venus Cypria and Dea Cypri, and is represented by the poets as taking a peculiar pleasure in visiting this country. The people, like the goddess they adored, are charged with being loose and lascivious, and their women are said to have been particularly free of their favours to foreigners: and what indeed could be expected from a generation who made it an act of religion to indulge and gratify their passions? But as to the manners of the Cyprians at present, my short stay amongst them gave me so little knowledge of the people, that I shall not pretend to pass a judgment either upon their vices or virtues. And with respect to the ancient inhabitants of Cyprus, we must by all means make exceptions from the general censure; for the country has produced some considerable philosophers and poets, and the apostle Barnabas was also a native of this island*, who with St. Paul first planted Christianity amongst them †; on which account their archbishop was made independent of the see of Antioch, to which all the rest of the Eastern bishops were formerly subject.

According to Josephus, the island of Cyprus was first peopled by Kittim and his descendants, the posterity of Javan, from whom he supposes the ancient Citium, now Chiti, took its name; but in the Apocrypha we find Macedonia denoted by the land of Chettim, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence ‡; and Perseus, king of Macedonia, is called king of the Citims ||. But, to leave these

* Acts iv. 36. † Acts xiii. 4. et seq. ‡ 1 Macc. i. 1. || 1 Macc. viii. 5.

critical inquiries, it is certain that Cyprus, like most other countries, was anciently governed by several petty sovereigns or heads of families, who were first brought into subjection by Amasis king of Egypt, and afterwards by the Phœnicians; at least each of these nations had their colonies in the island, who maintained a superiority over the natives. When Cyrus, the Persian monarch, invaded this country, he found it under the dominion of nine several princes, whom he permitted, after his conquest, to retain their title and authority, but obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. In the reign of Ochus, the Cyprians, encouraged by the good success of the Phœnicians in their revolt against Persia, followed their example, and endeavoured to render themselves independant. Ochus sent orders to Idriæus, king of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Grecians along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian and Evagoras, which latter had been expelled from his kingdom of Salamis by his uncle Protagoras, and therefore gladly embraced this opportunity, as it seemed to be, of re-ascending the throne. This war with Cyprus, however, did not last long; for Ochus, having his mind wholly bent on the reduction of Egypt, was content to come to an accommodation with the nine Cyprian kings, who submitted to him again upon having their grievances removed, and were continued in the government of their respective territories. The greatest difficulty was to satisfy Evagoras, who demanded to be re-instated in the kingdom of Salamis; but it being evidently proved before Ochus, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign,

the Persian monarch thought fit to leave Protagoras in possession of the throne, and to give Evagoras some remote government in his empire; wherein having repeated the same crimes he had been guilty of at Salamis, he was also expelled from thence, and fled into Cyprus, but was seized and put to death in that island.

Not long after this, Alexander the Great made a conquest of Cyprus; but, after the death of that prince, we find it sometimes governed by the kings of Egypt, and sometimes by those of Syria, till it was at last seized upon by the Romans; an action very much to the dishonour of that people, as will appear by a brief account of the whole affair. Clodius, whom the Romans had sent with a small fleet against the pirates who infested the coast of Cilicia, happened to be defeated and taken prisoner; whereupon he requested Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes who then reigned in Egypt, to furnish him with a sum of money to procure his liberty. That prince, who was extremely covetous, sent him only two talents; which the pirates refused to take, chusing to release Clodius out of mere generosity, rather than accept of so small a ransom. Clodius was highly incensed against Ptolemy, and meditated revenge on him as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people, an office that gave him considerable power and influence, which he took care to employ for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that Ptolemy had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre, and who was the immediate predecessor of Ptolemy Auletes. In conse-

quence of this suggestion, it was determined that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus which depended upon it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put this unjust order into execution, he had the credit and address to get one of the justest of all the Romans elected, namely, Porcius Cato, who was accordingly dispatched to Cyprus.

On his arrival at Rhodes he sent a message to Ptolemy, advising him to retire peaceably from his kingdom, and promising, in case he complied, to procure him the high priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues whereof were sufficient for an honourable subsistence. Though Ptolemy was not in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans, he could not bear the thoughts of resigning his crown for an inferior station, and therefore rejected the proposal. Determined to end his life and reign together, he embarked and put to sea with all his treasures, intending to have holes bored in the bottom of the vessel, that it might sink with him and his riches: but when he came to put his purpose in execution, though he still persisted in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to involve his well-beloved treasures in the same destruction; thereby plainly shewing, that he valued them more than his own person, and was a mean slave to his gold, at the same time he enjoyed the title of king of Cyprus. In a word, he returned to shore, replaced his riches in his magazines, and afterwards poisoned himself, leaving the whole booty to his enemies. The following year Cato carried these

spoils to Rome; which were of such value, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce ever been brought into the public treasury; the sum amounting according to Plutarch, to almost seven thousand talents; which we may guess to be about one million and a half sterling, the value of the talent among the Ancients being so very different in different countries, that we are liable to much uncertainty in reducing it to the English standard. Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publicly, reserving nothing to himself but a picture of Zeno *, the founder of the sect of philosophers called Stoics, whose sentiment he followed.

This transaction, as I before observed, reflects great dishonour on the Roman people, and shews them not such as they were in the happy ages of their republic, distinguished by their contempt of riches and esteem or poverty; but as they were degenerated and de-

* This philosopher was a native of Citium in Cyprus, inhabited by a colony of Phœnicians; whence he is supposed to have borrowed many of his Dogmata from the Phœnician philosophy, which many learned men maintain was itself borrowed from the Jewish; though it must be allowed, there appear as many things in the Stoic philosophy borrowed from Plato's and Socrates' school, as from that of Moses. Zeno, making a trading voyage from Citium to Athens, was shipwrecked not far from that port, whereupon he settled there and taught philosophy. He became exceedingly revered at Athens for the probity and severity of his life and manners, insomuch that the Athenians decreed him a golden crown in his life-time, and consecrated an altar to him after his death. The great and fundamental principle of his morality was, That we ought to live conformably to nature, and that the sovereign good of man consists in virtue. It is said that Zeno hanged himself; and most of his disciples, if not all of them, thought self-murder allowable. His chief followers among the Romans were Cato, Varro, Seneca, and the emperor Marcus Antoninus.

based, after gold and silver, brought into Rome by her victorious generals, had in a manner triumphed over that conquering city by their pernicious influence. But what is particularly surprising is, that Cato, one of the most upright men of those times, should have any hand in so notorious an injustice, as that of depriving a prince of his dominions, from no other motive, as appears, than to gratify an unreasonable resentment, and to sweep away the wealth and treasures of the country.

On this occasion Cicero expresses a just indignation, observing that the Roman people, instead of making it their glory, as formerly, to replace conquered princes upon their thrones, now give orders for a king, if not an ally, at least a constant friend to the republic, who had never done them any injury, whom they had never had any reason to suspect or complain of, to be plundered on a sudden without any formality, stripped of the dominions left him by his ancestors, and his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes. A fine lesson this for other princes, continues Cicero; from this fatal example they learn, how precarious their situation is, since, amongst the Romans, there needs only the intrigues and interest of a single tribune, for depriving them of their thrones, and plundering them of all their riches *. But to make an end of our account of Cyprus.

* Cicero's own language is so beautiful, that the passage is well worth transcribing, "Ptolemæus rex, si nondum socius at
"non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus, imperio populi Romani,
"regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc ni-
"hil cogitante, nihil suspicante estrogatum, ut sedens cum purpura
"et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis, præconi publico subjiceretur;
"et imperante populo Romano, qui etiam victis bello regibus
"regna reddere consuevit rex amicus, nullâ injuriâ commemoratâ,

After the Romans, the island was subject to the Greek emperors, in whose time it was taken and ravaged by the Saracens, but returned to the obedience of its former masters. About the year 1190, Richard the First, king of England, put in here for fresh water in his voyage to the Holy Land, and not meeting with a hospitable reception, turned his army against the island, subdued it, and transferred his right of conquest to Guy de Lusignan, the titular king of Jerusalem, whose family continued possessed of it till the year 1423; at which time the sultan of Egypt invaded the country, and took John the king prisoner. The prince, however, paying a great sum of money for his ransom, was set at liberty, and permitted to enjoy his kingdom, on condition of being subject to an annual tribute of forty thousand crowns. About the year 1473, one of these tributary kings left the island by will to the Venetians, who held it near a hundred years under the same tribute; when Selim, the Turkish emperor, as sovereign of Egypt, laid claim to Cyprus, and actually sent his Grand Vizier Mustapha to make himself master of it, who laid siege to Famagusta in the year 1570, and obliged the governor to surrender upon honourable conditions. The treacherous Turk, however, having taken possession of the place, barbarously massacred the prin-

“ nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur.—Cypri-
 “ us miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus fuit; de quo nulla
 “ unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nos-
 “ tros alata est; vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et ves-
 “ titu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam
 “ fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perditio ex-
 “ emplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari
 “ (posse) et regno omni nundari.” Cic. Orat. pro Sextio.

cipal inhabitants in cold blood, and caused the governor, who had valiantly defended the city to the last extremity, to be fleaed alive, and hung up at the yard-arm of his ship, in order to strike a terror through the rest of the country. Having afterwards reduced the city of Nicosia, all the other towns in the island surrendered at discretion; and the chief of the natives being cut off, the Vizier thought fit to spare the peasants and artificers, giving them the liberty of following their occupations and exercising their religion, on condition of paying such a tribute as should be imposed on them by the Grand Signior: and from this time the Turks have remained masters of Cyprus *.

On the 17th of February we sailed from Famagusta with the wind at North-West, and the next day landed safe at Tripoli of Syria, taking up our lodgings at a merchant's house, to whom we had a recommendation from our friends at Smyrna. This city is the seat of a Turkish beglerbeg who commands the province, and, strictly speaking, is at present the capital of that country which was anciently called Phœnice or Phœnicia, but is usually comprehend-

* When the Grand Vizier had made this barbarous conquest, it is reported that he sent a certain Cyprian lady as a present to his master, with two large ships laden with the plunder of the island; but that the lady, to avoid the embraces of the sultan, found means to blow up one of the ships, and thereby destroyed herself and all the people in both the vessels; which is applauded by many writers as a very heroic action; but, says a modern historian, if all the mariners and passengers perished, it must be very difficult to know how the accident happened; and were the story true, the lady seems to have rated her virginity a little too high, to think that the destruction of some hundreds of souls was not equivalent to the loss of it.

ed under the general name of Syria. The greatest part of the town is situated between two hills, on one of which, towards the East, stands a castle, that commands the place, but is now in a ruinous condition, serving rather for a prison than a garrison. The other hill, which lies Westward from the sea and the town, is said to owe its rise, as it certainly does its increase, to the sand blown to it from the shore, which, according to a prediction they have amongst them, is one day or other to bury the whole city. Tripoli stands about a mile from the sea, having but an indifferent port, or rather an open road, which, however, is a little covered from the wind and the fury of the waves by two small islands a league and a half distant from the coast; and, for its security from pirates, there are several square towers built along the shore at convenient distances. The town is prettily built, and has a rivulet running through it, that comes from mount Libanus, and waters the neighbouring gardens, which are full of orange and white mulberry-trees. These afford food for their silk-worms, and the trade of the place seems chiefly to consist in its silk manufactures. Tripoli is said to have derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities, Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus; and accordingly was at first three distinct towns, at a small distance from each other, inhabited by three different draughts or colonies, but all within one common wall or inclosure: and this seems to be confirmed by several heaps of ruins and pillars of granite, that are to be seen in the fields near the shore, which are unquestionably the remains of some considerable buildings.

Having considerably more time upon our hands

than was necessary to get to Sidon before the departure of the French consul, we chose to spend a week or two in making some excursions into the country not far from Tripoli. We made a small present to the bashaw of Tripoli, and paid him a visit, who received us with great civility; for a guest is generally welcome to a Turk, when such a forerunner goes to bespeak his admission. After he had entertained us handsomely with sherbet, coffee, tobacco, and perfumes, understanding our intention of viewing the country, he ordered a guard to attend us, and to take all possible care to prevent our being insulted or interrupted.

Though the season of the year was not quite proper for visiting mount Libanus, great part of it being covered with snow, yet, despairing of another opportunity, we resolved to attempt at least to see the famous cedars which travellers speak of with admiration, and to which such frequent allusions are made in the holy Scriptures. Having provided all things necessary for a longer journey than we designed to take, as not knowing what inducements we might have to proceed farther, we set out on the 20th in the morning, and after travelling three hours and a half across the plain of Tripoli, we came to the foot of mount Libanus or Lebanon. From thence we continually ascended with great fatigue, and in five hours more arrived at a small village called Eden, where we thought it most advisable to stay that night for fear of worse accommodation. In the morning we proceeded over snow which was hard frozen, and in less than three hours arrived at the cedars, not far from the highest part of Libanus. Several of these

trees are remarkable for their age and prodigious bulk, but there are many young ones of a smaller size. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only sixteen; one whereof we measured, and found it near thirteen yards in circumference, and its branches spreading every way round it for about forty paces. Five or six yards from the ground the trunk divides itself into five limbs, each of them as big as a great tree; but there are but few of the cedars of these large dimensions. How remarkable the cedars of Lebanon were in ancient times, may be judged from the frequent mention made of them in the Old Testament; and the few of them that are left are held in great veneration * by the inhabitants of these parts.

After we had staid at this place about half an hour, which was as long as the rigour of the cold would permit, we made all the haste we could to Canobine, a convent of Maronites, and the seat of their patriarch, where we met with a very kind reception. The situation of this monastery is not only delightful, but admirably adapted for a devout retirement; for in the side of Libanus there is a very deep aper-

* The Memoirs of the Missionaries in the Levant inform us, that upon the day of the transfiguration the patriarch of the Maronites (Christians inhabiting mount Libanus) repair to these cedars, attended by a number of bishops, priests, and monks, and followed by five or six thousand of their religion from all parts; and that under these trees they celebrate that festival, which they mis-call the Feast of Cedars. We are also told, that the patriarch officiates pontifically on this solemn occasion; that they are particularly mindful of the Blessed Virgin on this day, because the scripture compares her to the cedars of Lebanon, and that the same holy father threatens with his church censures those who presume to hurt or diminish the cedars that are still remaining.

ture running up into the mountain eighteen or twenty miles, which on both sides is high and steep, but cloathed with trees and herbage from top to bottom, and every where watered with little springs and rivulets, which fall down the rocks, and form delightful cascades. These streams, uniting at the bottom, make a full and rapid torrent, which adds to the pleasure of the place by its agreeable murmurs. Canobine is situated on the North side of this chasm, about half way up the mountain; and is but a mean structure, standing at the mouth of a cave, having a few rooms only which front outwards and enjoy the light of the sun, the rest being subterraneous apartments. It has also a church suitable to its own appearance, one side whereof stands towards the light and the other towards the grotto. The emperor Theodosius the Great was the founder of this monastery, which has been several times rebuilt; but the church looks very ancient, and is said to be the same that was first erected.

The valley of Canobine, one of the most pleasing recesses that can be imagined, has been formerly much frequented by persons devoted to a religious life; for we still see here abundance of cells, hermitages, and monasteries: nay, there is scarce any little rocky prominence on the side of the mountain, which has not some small structure upon it, serving anciently for the reception of monks and hermits, but most of them now destitute of those pious inhabitants.

We staid all night at this convent, and had an opportunity of conversing some hours with the patriarch, a venerable old man, whose learning and affable behaviour, as well as his grey hairs, commanded

respect and esteem. We asked him several questions relating to mount Libanus, particularly the snow, which we were told continues all the year round; but this he informed us was not true, except it was meant of such snow as lay in clefts and cavities which the sun never shone upon; for as to the rest, it generally begins to melt in April, the mountain is quite clear by the end of July, and the snows seldom fall again till the month of December. Thus Libanus is of service to the adjacent country, preserving, by its exceeding height, abundance of snow, which thawing in the heat of summer affords supplies of water to the rivers and springs in the vallies below.

The inhabitants of this range of mountains called Libanus are chiefly Maronites, a sect of Christians, concerning the origin and founder whereof the learned are divided. The Maronites themselves derive their name from one Maron, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century, and whose life is written by Theodoret; and the Jesuit Sacchini is of the same opinion, believing that they never separated from the catholic church, and that what has given occasion to their being judged in a schism is their union with the church of Rome towards the end of the twelfth century, which some take for a return to the catholic faith. This union was effected by Aimeri, third Latin patriarch of Antioch; since which time the Maronites have used the mitre, ring, crozier, and other Episcopalia of the Latin church, but their service is still performed in the Chaldee language; their patriarch also is obliged to have a bull of confirmation from the pope, but continues to be elected by the clergy and people, according to the ancient custom.

Several learned men, as Morin and cardinal Bona, take Maronite for the name of a heretical sect, like Nestorian; Marcionite, and others of that nature; so that according to their account, Maron, whom the Maronites esteem as a saint, was in reality a heretic. But Faustus Nairen, a Maronite settled at Rome, has published an apology for Maron and the rest of his nation, wherein he maintains, that the person from whom they have taken their name was no heretic, but the Maron mentioned by Chrysostom, Theodoret, and in the Menologium of the Greeks; that the disciples of this Maron spread themselves throughout all Syria; that they built several monasteries, and, among others, one that bore the name of their leader; that all the Syrians, who were not tainted with heresy, took refuge among them; and that for this reason the heretics of those times called them Maronites.

I shall not pretend to determine this controversy, but only give the reader some few particulars relating to the present state of these Eastern Christians. As to their faith, they agree in the main with the rest of the Eastern church; but they have of late embraced several doctrines of the church of Rome, which have been propagated among them by the popish missionaries, and still continue to be by those who are educated in the Maronite college in that city. Their patriarch and bishops are chosen out of the monks, and observe a perpetual celibacy; but their priests are allowed to marry before ordination. The priests do not say mass singly, but all say it together, standing round the altar. In the eucharist they make use of unleavened bread; and the laity have hitherto partaken in both kinds, but the prac-

tice of communicating in one is gaining ground amongst them by little and little. Lent is the fast they observe with the greatest strictness, during which time they eat nothing, unless it be two or three hours before the rising of the sun. On Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year they abstain from flesh, eggs, and milk; and they fast twenty days before Christmas, and fifteen before the feasts of St. Peter, St. Paul, and the assumption of the virgin. Their bishops confer orders at all festivals, and sometimes all the several orders upon one person in a few hours time; and observe particular ceremonies in ordaining their arch-priest. Some of their bishops are no more than abbots, have no cure of souls, and are only distinguished from other monks by a mitre and cross during the celebration of divine service. In matters of penance and absolution the authority of all their priests is equal, there being no particular cases reserved for the cognizance of the bishops or patriarch.

The monks among the Maronites are all of one order supposed to have been originally that of St. Anthony, and seem to be the remains of the ancient hermits that were so numerous in Syria and Palestine. They make no vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but receive admonitions upon those subjects when they are admitted into the monastery. They are allowed to walk about where they please, and are frequently absent from the convent several days together; but their behaviour is such that they very seldom transgress the rules of their profession. They wear a garment of coarse cloth, and a black hood on their heads; and many of them live like hermits, in caves and grottos, chusing the most ob-

scure recesses of the mountain, and farthest removed from the commerce of the world. They seldom drink wine, and eat very little flesh, living chiefly upon bread, honey, milk, fruit, and vegetables. But I would not be understood as if all of them led a life of idleness; for a certain number belonging to each monastery are employed in cultivating their lands, pruning their vineyards, and other labours of husbandry; which they are obliged to do, not only for their own sustenance, but to enable them to pay the taxes imposed upon them by the Turks, and to satisfy the unreasonable exactions of those insolent and covetous masters. In short, they seem to have made choice of poverty and abstemiousness, that others may enjoy the fruits of their labour; for they are extremely hospitable, as we particularly experienced in the monastery of Canobine, where they kindly entertain all strangers, not excepting even the Turks themselves.

To this account of their ecclesiastics and religions, it may not be amiss to add a word or two concerning the Maronites in general. They dwell in little villages and mean houses scattered up and down mount Libanus, which is reckoned a good day's journey in breadth, and four or five in length, and is supposed to be inhabited by ten or twelve thousand families. Though there are some persons of wealth and quality among them, they affect to seem poor, for fear of the extortions and oppressions of the Turks, who sometimes carry their tyranny so far, as to seize upon their estates, and make the heirs of the deceased purchase their inheritance with large sums of money. The habit of the Maronites is a vest and turbant, of such colours as are permitted them by

the Turks, and most of them go bare-legged. In their stature, as well as temper, they pretty much resemble the Italians; whom, however, they far exceed in their hospitality. Many of them, that are trained up in the colder parts of the mountain, are active, hardy, and fit for war or laborious employments, their chief exercise being to hunt and destroy the wild beasts that frequent the upper regions of Libanus. Their weapons are bows and arrows, scymitars, daggers, and some fire-arms. They sit cross-legged, in the manner of the Turks, on mats or carpets spread upon the floor, and thus they take their meals; nor do they use knives or forks, but only spoons. When they entertain one another, the master of the house has enough to do to fill the glasses for his guests, as is the custom; for when any one drinks, the example is generally followed by all the rest of the company. The more freely they drink, it seems, the more welcome they are; and if a stranger comes in, and does not eat and drink without ceremony, it is reckoned an affront, or at least ill manners. When the priests say grace before and after meat, they make use of incense; as they likewise do to welcome any person of quality or dignitary of the church who comes to pay them a visit. The Maronites have a great veneration for their priests, whose prayers and blessings they generally request before they undertake a journey, or any affair of importance; and if they meet a priest, they usually salute him by kissing his hand, who in return makes the sign of the cross, and gives them his benediction. They make great lamentations for their deceased friends, and dress no victuals for some time in the afflicted family, but are supplied by their kindred and acquaintance.

As for the Maronite women, they are modest in their apparel and behaviour, covering their faces with a veil when they meet any stranger, and avoiding him as much as possible. Their habit is much like that of the Italian ladies, and some of them wear bracelets upon their arms and legs after the manner of their Turkish neighbours. At church they have a division to themselves, so as not to be seen by the men; and when divine service is over, not a man stirs from his place, till all the women are gone out; by which sort of regulations I suppose the Maronites, as well as other Eastern Christians, intend to guard against all immodesty, and to prevent the devotion of their religious assemblies from being interrupted.

After our agreeable entertainment at Canobine, we began to think of returning to Tripoli; but considering, that, according to the course of our intended journey, we should never have an opportunity of seeing Balbeck and Damascus if we did not embrace the present, we determined to pay a visit to those cities. In this resolution we were confirmed by the encouragement of our guide, who promised to conduct us across a part of the mountain so as to avoid a great deal of snow, and bring us to Balbeck in eight hours time. Accordingly having taken leave of our good old patriarch, we set out from Canobine on the 22d at seven in the morning, and ascending the mountain for two hours, we travelled another hour over deep snow hard frozen, till we got into a beaten road, by which descending for two hours more, we entered a fine valley called Bocat. It takes up about the same time to cross the valley at this place, but it extends several days journey in length, lying North-East and South-West with little varia-

tion. On both sides of it run two ranges of mountains, parallel to each other; the one, which we had just passed over, called Libanus; the other, opposite to it, Anti-Libanus. In an hour and an half, steering directly across the valley, we came to a village called Yead; and from thence, in less than an hour, we arrived at Balbeck, but did not enter the city that night, waiting for a permission from the governor, which we obtained the next morning, and thereby rambled about to make our observations with the greater freedom and security.

The city of Balbeck is supposed to be the ancient Heliopolis, so called from an image of the sun which was worshipped by its Pagan inhabitants; and its present name seems to favour the conjecture, as inclining to the same signification; for though Baal imports idols in general, it is frequently appropriated to the sun, the chief idol of this country. It is pleasantly situated on the East side of the valley of Bocat, being encompassed with gardens, through which run several fine rivulets that fall from the neighbouring mountains. The town is of a square form, surrounded with a wall of considerable strength, which has been built out of the ruins of the ancient city, as appears from several stones inscribed with scraps of Roman names, or some unintelligible letters, serving however to denote the great resort of the Romans to this place in flourishing times of their empire. Round the wall are towers at equal distances; but the whole inclosure is but small, each side of the square being about a quarter of a mile, and the houses within it are very mean, such as we usually meet with in Turkish villages.

The chief if not the only inducement, that leads

strangers to visit Balbeck at present, are the noble remains of a heathen temple on the South-West side of the city, with some other buildings, all of them exceedingly magnificent; but in latter times these old structures have been patched and pieced, some additions made to them, and the whole converted into a castle. The additional buildings are in no despicable taste, but the modern architecture is easily distinguishable from the ancient.

As we approach these venerable ruins, the first thing we observe is a Rotunda, or round pile of building, encompassed with beautiful pillars of the Corinthian order, which support a cornice that runs all round the structure. It is mostly of marble, and, though round on the outside, is an octagon within, having eight arches supported by eight Corinthian columns, each of one single piece. At present it is open at top, but appears to have been covered with a shell, and to have been much embellished with the figures of eagles. The whole is of great elegance and stateliness, but it is now in a very tottering condition; notwithstanding which the Greeks venture to make use of it as a church *, and have barbarously spoiled the beauty of the inside by daubing it over with plaister. Leaving this, we come to a large, firm, and lofty pile of building, composed of vast square stones, which yet has the air of an adjectitious work, and through this we advance into a noble arched

* "It were well, says Mr. Maundrell, if the danger of its falling, which perpetually threatens, would excite those people to use a little more fervour in their prayers, than they generally do; the Greeks being seemingly the most undevout and negligent at their divine service, of any sort of people in the Christian world." *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 135.

walk or portico, a hundred and fifty paces in length, which leads to the temple I am now about to describe.

This temple has, almost to a miracle, resisted the injuries of time, and escaped the fury of superstition, the body of it being as good as entire. It is an oblong square, and in its general form and proportion is very much like the church of St. Paul, Convent-Garden; but for the magnificence of structure and dimensions, there is scarce any comparison between them, the temple at Balbeck being every way almost as big again as the other. The length of it, measured on the outside, is one hundred and ninety-two feet, and its breadth ninety-six: its length within is one hundred and twenty feet, and its breadth sixty. Fifty-four feet of the hundred and ninety-two were taken up by the pronaos or anti-temple, which is now tumbled down, the pillars that supported it being broken. The body of this temple, which is now standing, is surrounded with a noble portico, sustained by pillars of the Corinthian order, something more than six feet in diameter, and about fifty in height, each of them consisting of three stones. These pillars stand at the diameter of nine feet from each other, and as much from the wall of the temple; a stately architrave running round their capitals, with a cornice exquisitely carved. There are fourteen of them on each side of the temple, and eight at the end, reckoning the corner pillars in both numbers. The covering of the portico consists of large stones hollowed like an arch, extending from the pillars to the wall of the temple; and in the centre of each stone is the figure of a god, a goddess, a hero, or something of that nature, but most of them so de-

faced that they cannot easily be distinguished. Among the rest is a Mercury, that has received but little damage, and an eagle flying away with Ganymede *, both carved with all the life imaginable. All round the foot of the wall of the temple is a double border of marble, the lowest parts whereof is a continued bas-relief in miniature, expressing various ceremonies of the heathen worship; in which we may still discern a surprising mixture of men and beasts, in a most agreeable variety, and without the least confusion.

Before we proceed to the inside of the temple, let us take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more august. The ascent to it is by thirty

* Ganymede, according to the fiction of the poets, was the son of Tros king of Troy, whom Jupiter, in the form of an eagle, snatched up as he was hunting upon Mount Ida, and made him his cup bearer instead of Hebe. This rape of Canymede is thus prettily related by Ovid:

“ Rex Superûm Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore

“ Arsit; et inventum est aliquid, quod Jupiter esse,

“ Quam quod erat, mallet. Nullâ tamen alite verti

“ Dignatur, nisi quæ possit sua fulmina ferre.

“ Nec mora: percusso mendacibus aëre pennis,

“ Abripit Iliadem, qui nunc quoque pocula miscet,

“ Invitâque Jovi nectar Junone ministrat.” Met. X. 155.

The king of gods once felt the burning joy,

And sigh'd for lovely Ganymede of Troy:

Long was he puzzled to assume a shape

Most fit and expeditious for the rape;

A bird's was proper, yet he scorns to wear

Any but that which might his thunder bear.

Down with his masquerading wings he flies;

And bears the little Trojan to the skies;

Where now, in robes of heav'nly purple drest,

He serves the nectar at th' Almighty's feast,

To slighted Juno an unwelcome guest.

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steps, bounded on each side by a wall, which terminates in a pedestal, whereon formerly stood a statue, as may reasonably be supposed. The front is composed of eight Corinthian pillars, with an ample and well proportioned triangular pediment; and within these eight pillars, at the distance of about six feet, are four others, like the former; and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate the walls of the temple, which extend considerably beyond the body of the temple itself. All these form a portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty-four feet, and upwards of sixty in breadth. Through these pillars appears the door of the temple, and that to the utmost advantage; the nice proportions of the pillars, their distance from each other, and the recess of the door itself, all contributing to make it look majestic. The door-case or portal resembles in its proportion and construction the great marble portal at the West end of St. Paul's, but far exceeds it in the richness of its sculpture. The whole height of it is about forty feet, and its width about twenty-eight, with an opening twenty feet wide. As soon as you are under this portal, over your head you see an admirable piece of sculpture, which still discovers inimitable beauties, notwithstanding the injuries it has received. It is a large eagle in bas-relief, with his wings displayed, and carrying a caduceus in his pounces; and on each side of him is a figure likewise upon the wing. The eagle holds in his beak the strings or ribbons coming from the ends of two festoons, the other ends being supported by the two flames; the whole of it fine beyond imagination.

When we are got within the temple, we find it divided into three aisles, a broad one in the middle, and

a narrower on each side, after the manner of our churches; which were formed, as may still be discerned, by two rows of fluted Corinthian pillars, of about three feet diameter. These pillars were twelve in number, six on a side, about eighteen feet distant from each other, and twelve from the walls of the temple. All round the walls are two rows or orders of pilasters, one above another; and between the pilasters are niches, fifteen feet high, which seem to have been designed for images. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the bases of the pilasters, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a Corinthian pedestal, the same order being observed in the niches themselves with the greatest delicacy and exactness. Of these pilasters there are eight in a row, on each side; and nine niches.

Towards the West end of the middle aisle we ascend to a choir, as it is usually called for want of a more proper name, by twelve marble steps; which choir is distinguished from the rest of the temple by two large square columns adorned with pilasters, forming a noble entrance, exactly corresponding with that of the temple itself. It is supposed here was anciently a partition, and that the two pillars supported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be seen at present. At the bottom of this choir is a large marble niche, where undoubtedly stood the principal idol worshipped here; and all round this place we see a large provision of astonishing sculpture; on one hand, festoons, birds, fruits, flowers, and the like; in another part, Neptune, Tritons, sea-gods, Arion and his dolphin, fishes, and other marine figures. The roof of the temple is

broken down, but those who have seen it tell us it was a very bold one, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It was open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lanthorn stood there for the admission of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be determined. In a word, the building, as it now stands, strikes us with surprise, and gives us the most just ideas of the magnificence of ancient architecture; insomuch that we may affirm of this temple, if it may be affirmed of any structure whatsoever, that it was without faults, and perfect in every part, the best rules having been observed throughout with the greatest nicety and precision, and nothing appearing in the whole but the most correct taste, and the most charming symmetry.

The old wall, which encompasses the several structures above described, as well as other remains not yet mentioned, is built with stones of such a prodigious size, as far exceed those of our famous Stonehenge on Salisbury plain; and indeed I should have been afraid of having my veracity called in question, if I had told their dimensions before the world was apprised of them by a traveller of such undoubted credit as our countryman Mr. Maundrell. The whole is so surprising and so difficult to be accounted for, that the natives of Balbeck (as is usual with the vulgar in cases of the like nature) believe it was the work of the devil. Three of the largest of these stones, lying end to end in the same row, extend sixty-one yards, or one hundred and eighty-three feet in length; one of them being sixty-three feet long, and the other two sixty a-piece. Their depth is twelve feet, and their breadth the same; and, what adds to

the wonder, they are raised up into the wall above twenty feet from the ground. The other stones of this wall are of a vast bigness; but we did not observe any more that came up to the foregoing dimensions.

Within this inclosure there are several other antique remains, that are well worth a traveller's observation; particularly the ruins of a stately palace, (as we supposed it to have been) which Mr. Maundrell having overlooked, or at least taken very little notice of, our account of this structure will perhaps be the more acceptable. I cannot indeed promise an exact description of it, as it is far from being in so perfect a condition as the temple; and shall therefore only speak of it in general terms, or insist on some few particulars that best deserve our attention.

Going through the long arched walk, which has been already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a subterraneous passage, adorned with a great number of busts, that cannot well be distinguished, but are supposed to represent the ancient kings of Syria; I say, as we go through this portico, the first object that strikes our sight is a spacious hexagonal building or wall, which forms a kind of theatre, being open at the end, where there is a terrace, to which we ascend by marble steps. Through this aperture we enter into a square court, larger than the first, encompassed with buildings of more magnificence than those we have left behind us. On each hand there is a double row of pillars, which form porticos or galleries above a hundred and thirty yards in length, and sixteen in breadth; and the a structure more sumptuous and deeper than the

rest, which seems to have been the body of the palace. The columns belonging to this part are of a vast size, each consisting of one stone, and of the Corinthian order; nine whereof are still standing, with some of the entablature *, by which it appears to have been a most magnificent and stately fabric.

Many considerable and distinct vestiges of the several parts of this palace are yet remaining, which fill the spectator with admiration. The Corinthian order prevails chiefly throughout the whole; and scarce any where do we meet with such valuable remnants of ancient architecture and sculpture. We see a vast variety of ornaments, but without any of the wild and extravagant mixtures introduced by the moderns. In a word, the fine taste of Greece and the magnificence of Rome are here united; innumerable busts and statues, niches curiously wrought, trophies, walls and cielings enriched with bas-reliefs, incrustations, and other works of the finest marble. The great vaults underneath this pile are equally surprising; for one may discover, through the ruins, long flights of marble stairs, some of them containing near two hundred. We cannot help admiring the bold turn and elevation of these vaults; and also the marble tombs, halls, chambers and entire apartments, into which they are divided, and which are still plainly discernible. The walls of them are likewise adorn-

* Maundrell takes notice of these columns in the following words, which is all he says relating to the remains of this superb structure. "About fifty yards distant from the temple, says he, "is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty, with a most "stately architrave and cornice at top. This speaks itself to have "been part of some very august pile: but what one now sees of "it is but just enough to give a regret, that there should be no "more of it remaining." p. 137.

ed with bas-reliefs, niches, inscriptions in Roman characters; but they are so effaced by length of time, and by the damp of the place, that they are utterly illegible. Some of the vaults are quite dark, and cannot be visited without lights, either because of their great depth, or because the passages which may have originally given them light are now choaked with rubbish; but others receive light from great windows, that are levelled with the surface of the ground above. The temple, and the ruins of this supposed palace, stand within the same inclosure, as has been already mentioned; and may vie with any monument of antiquity now extant, either at Rome or Athens, or even in the whole world, as far as we can judge of what we have not seen, but only had an account of from the relation of others.

On the side of a rising ground, in the East part of the town, stood a tall column of the Tuscan order, about fifty-four feet high, and five feet in diameter. It is now thrown down, and has a deep channel cut in its side from one end to the other; but for what purpose it was erected, we could not so much as conjecture. In short, all over the city, as well as round about it, we can scarce move a step without meeting with some melancholy fragment of antiquity, some token of its ancient splendor and magnificence. At a little distance from the town we see the quarry from whence they dug the stone employed in the prodigious structures of which I have been speaking. It is cut out in steps that look something like the seats of an amphitheatre; and there is still to be seen in it a stone ready hewn, which in its dimensions seems to surpass those already described. The people for a long time had an opinion that its vast weight

rendered it immoveable; and for that reason it had not been carried away; but in reality it is still fast to the rock, as appears upon a nice examination.—— Such was Belbeck; and after a view of so many evident marks of its ancient grandeur, may we not reasonably conclude that it was once the most considerable city of Syria, the delight and residence of some powerful monarch?*

Having satisfied our curiosity at Balbeck, we departed from thence on the 26th in the morning for Damascus, after paying the caphar demanded of us by the Turks. The caphars are certain duties which merchants and travellers are obliged to pay at several places on the road, to officers who attend to receive them at the appointed stations. They were first levelled by the Christians themselves, when masters of the Holy Land, for maintaining the ways in good repair, and for the support of troops posted in the more difficult passes, to watch the Arabs and prevent their pillages. Upon the same pretences the Turks have continued this toll; but they very much abuse it, exacting from passengers, especially European Christians, arbitrary and unreasonable sums; and instead of being a safeguard, they are supposed frequently to keep up an understanding with the Arabs, and even to favour their robberies.

* Prince Radziville, who in the main is a very judicious traveller, thinks it past dispute that the palace at Balbeck was the work of Solomon. He imagines it to be the house built for Pharaoh's daughter, and that it exactly answers the description of that palace in 1 Kings vii. 8—12. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent observation, as he is pleased to tell us; and indeed it cannot be said that there is no similitude in the case: but certainly he must only have considered these ruins superficially and in general, without descending to particulars, or he had never been so egregiously mistaken.

We kept our course to the South, directly down the valley of Bocat, having Anti-Libanus on our left; and after travelling three hours, we began to ascend that mountain. Having spent three hours more in crossing it, the road in some places being rough and troublesome, we came to a village called Surgawich. Here we entered a narrow valley, along which we continued our journey, and having passed by the source of the river Barrady, in an hour and a half we came to a fountain called Ayn il Hawra, where we took up our quarters that night; our stage this day being seven hours and a half, and our course South-East the greatest part of the way.

The next morning we kept along the valley, upon the banks of the Barrady, and in two hours arrived at the village of Maday. Having travelled on about three hours more, the mountains being rocky and steep on each side of the valley, we spied several tall pillars on the other side of the river, which we judged to have been part of some ancient and stately edifice; but of what kind, without a nearer view of them, it would have been in vain to conjecture. At the end of this valley, in which we had travelled all day, we came to a high hill, on the top whereof is an ancient structure, supposed to be the tomb of Abel, and to have given the name of Abilene to the adjacent country. The tomb is thirty yards long, and yet the ignorant people hereabouts believe it to have been but just proportioned to Abel's stature: some also pretend that this is the place where he was murdered by his brother. Not far from this hill is a small village called Sinie, through which we passed, and in less than two hours arrived at another village called Dumar, where we staid all night, being just three hour short of Damascus.

In the morning we crossed the Barrady at a new bridge near Dummar, from whence our road ascended, and brought us to the top of the precipice, under which the river runs, the mountain being cleft asunder to give it admission into the plain below. From this precipice we have a most distinct prospect of Damascus, which appears a perfect paradise. It is situate in a plain of such extent, that the mountains which bound it on the farther side are but just discernible. It stretches itself from South-West to the North-East, extending about two miles in length; and is narrow in the middle, but at each end swells to a greater bulk. The domes and minarets of the mosques are a great ornament to the city; and the gardens, with which it is encompassed for many miles round, planted with fruit trees of all kinds, and always kept fresh and green by the streams of the river Barrady, surprise and ravish the spectator. The little towers, steeples, and pleasure-houses, which in every part lift up their heads among the trees, add to the beauty and delightfulness of the prospect. The Barrady, as soon as it issues from the above-mentioned cleft of the mountain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus, through a large field called the Agor Damascenus, and supplies all the fountains and receptacles of water in the city. The other two, which seem to be the work of art, flow on the right and left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let by little channels, and dispersed over every part of them; insomuch that there is not a garden without a fine rivulet running through it, and perhaps improved into fountains, cascades, and other water-works, which are very delightful, though

not contrived with such exquisite art as in some gardens of Europe.—But we must leave this precipice which has given us such a view of so charming a landscape, and proceed to Damascus, whither we are strongly invited by the pleasing and enchanting prospect.

Descending from our agreeable eminence into the plain, we were conducted by our guide round about the gardens to the East gate of the city, which was nearest to the Latin convent, where we proposed to lodge during our stay at Damascus. As we passed between the gardens, we observed their method of scouring the channels, which is done by putting a great bough of a tree into the water, and dragging it along by a yoke of oxen. The driver sits or stands upon the bough, as well to press it down, as to drive the beasts; and thus they both cleanse the bottom, and fatten the water by stirring up the mud, so as to render it of greater advantage to the gardens. We also admired the singular structure of the garden-walls, which consist of huge pieces of earth, shaped like bricks, and hardened in the sun. They are each of them two yards long, one in breadth, and half a yard thick. Two rows of these placed edgewise, one upon another, form the usual inclosure in this country.

As to the river Barrady, after it has largely contributed to the beauty and fertility of the fields and gardens about Damascus, wherein it loses great part of its waters, the small remnant that escapes is again united into one channel, on the South-East side of the city; and after a course of a few hours, it is finally lost in a morass, without ever arriving at the sea. It is well known that the Greeks, and from them

the Romans, called this river Chrysorrhoeas, which is as much as to say, the Golden River; but as for those rivers of Damascus called Abana and Pharpar, whereof mention is made in 2 Kings v. 12. there are no traces of any such names remaining; nor can we tell where to find them, unless two branches of the Barrady were anciently so called, as it seems reasonable to conjecture.

On the 28th of February, about noon we arrived at the East gate of Damascus, and went immediately to the Latin convent, where we were kindly received by the superior, a native of Aix in provence. Our first business was to make a present to the Turkish beglerbeg or viceroy, to pay the way for a visit we intended to make him *, in order to procure his favour and protection whilst we continued in this city; for the Damascenes are a bigotted and insolent people, and have a strange aversion to the European Christians, from whom we had therefore reason to expect some injurious treatment. We succeeded in our application to the Turkish governor according to our wishes, who gave orders to an officer of the Janizaries to let two of that body attend us wherever we went,

* “ It is counted uncivil, says Mr. Maundrell, to visit in this
 “ country without an offering in hand. All great men expect it
 “ as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority, and
 “ look upon themselves as affronted, and indeed defrauded, when
 “ this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits amongst in-
 “ ferior people, you shall seldom have them come without bring-
 “ ing a flower, or an orange, or some other such token of their re-
 “ spect to the person visited; the Turks in this point keeping up
 “ the ancient oriental custom hinted, 1 Sam. ix. 7. *If we go*
 “ (says Saul) *what shall we bring the man of God? there is not a*
 “ *present*, &c. which words are questionless to be understood in
 “ conformity to this Eastern custom, as relating to a token of re-
 “ spect and not to a price of divination.” p. 26.

and prevent our being insulted or molested by the populace.

Thus guarded, we walked out to take a view of the city; the streets whereof are narrow, as is usual in hot countries, and the houses built of brick hardened by the heat of the sun, or only common clay, in as coarse a manner as the vilest cottages, notwithstanding they have plenty of good stone in the adjacent mountains. This dirty way of building is attended with an inconvenience which we were made sensible of by experience; namely, that upon any hasty shower so much mud is washed from the sides of the houses, as makes the streets intolerably nasty. It seems strange, that people should affect such mean buildings, when they have materials at hand fit for the noblest structures; but the Turks think it to little purpose to build durable houses, in which their tenure is so very precarious; and seem particularly averse to making an outside shew, lest it should prove a temptation to their superiors to deprive them of their possessions. The doors, however, are adorned with marble portals, and the inside of the buildings elegant enough; for there we usually find a large square court, beautified with variety of fragrant trees, flowers, and fountains, and surrounded with splendid apartments and sofas, where the Turks eat, drink, smoke, receive visits, and loll at their ease, taking the advantage of the shade or the sun-shine, according to the heat or coldness of the season. The cielings, pillars, and arches, are gilt and painted after the Turkish manner, and the carpets and cushions as rich as can possibly be procured.

This may suffice to give an idea of the private buildings at Damascus, for most of them bear some

resemblance to the foregoing description. As for their public structures, the first we took notice of was the church of St. John the Baptist, now converted into a mosque, and one of the most stately ones in the Turkish empire. No Christian being permitted to enter this mosque if he is known to be such, we made no attempt to gain admittance: with much ado, however, we got a look into it at three several gates, which are very large, covered with brass, and stamped all over with Arabic characters. The court on the North side of the mosque is about a hundred and fifty yards long, a hundred broad, and paved throughout. On the South side of it stands the mosque, and its other three sides are encompassed with a double cloyster, supported by two rows of granite pillars of the Corinthian order, exceeding lofty and beautiful. The inside of it is divided into three aisles by two ranges of pillars of a greyish marble, and of the order before-mentioned; and the pavement looks very bright and shining. In this church is kept the head of St. John *, as they pretend, and several other relics, esteemed so sacred by the Mahometans, that it is penal even for a Turk to go into the room where they are deposited. The Turks at Damascus have a tradition amongst them, but upon what it is grounded I could by no means learn, That our Saviour will descend into this mosque at the day of judgment, as Mahomet will into that of Jerusalem: and accordingly one of its steeples, through which they suppose he will make his entrance, is called the steeple of the Messias.

* Thevenot says the head of St. Zachary, but Maundrell makes it the head of St John.

From this mosque we went to the castle, which is about half a mile distant towards the West, and is a handsome square fabric of free-stone after the rustic manner. The walls are very high, and have large towers at proper distances. We were just admitted within the gate, where we saw abundance of old arms and armour, formerly taken from the Christians; but this was not a place for us to gaze with freedom. In the middle of the wall at the East end of the castle hangs down a short chain, cut out of one stone; which is of no use that I know of, but to shew the skill of the workman. A much longer chain than this is said to have hung here in the last century, which was broken down in stormy weather, and fell into the ditch.

Not far from hence are two mosques, formerly Christian churches, in which are the sepulchres of some of the kings of Damascus. There is no looking into one of them, but we peeped into the other, and observed that the walls in the inside are faced with marble of various colours to the height of six or seven yards above the pavement, and there are several fine pieces of mosaic work between the windows. This mosque is completely round, and covered with a handsome dome; and in the middle of it are two tombs very near each other, standing upon a floor of marble raised about a foot and a half higher than the rest of the pavement. They are of cedar, above five feet high, and seem to be of excellent workmanship. It is said that one of them contains the body of a king who renounced Christianity to embrace the imposture of Mahomet, and afterwards raised a cruel persecution against the Christians. Near these tombs the Koran lies chained upon a cedar

desk, which probably some person is paid for reading on account of the souls of the deceased princes; for it is usual with great men among the Mahometans to leave a sum of money at their death, for certain prayers to be repeated at their sepulchres.

It would be tedious, and almost endless, to describe all the mosques in Damascus; I shall therefore only mention one more, which is commonly called the green mosque, because it has a steeple or minaret faced with green glazed bricks, that make a very shining and agreeable appearance. This mosque has a large court or area before it, the pavement of which is admirable; and in the middle of it is a fine fountain or bason of water. At one end of it is a portico supported by eight marble pillars of the Corinthian order, the six inner ones whereof are fluted. These eight pillars support so many little domes covered with lead, which form the top of the portico, from whence we enter the mosque by three stately doors, adorned with excellent sculptures.

There are a great many bazars, that is, exchanges or market-places in Damascus, which are large buildings roofed over, with shops on each side, and most of them take their names from the commodities that are sold in them, as the bazar of stuffs, the bazar of saddles, &c. The largest of these structures, if I remember right, has a high-ridged timber roof, supported by stone arches at convenient distances, and is called Sinanie, from its founder Sinan, a bashaw of Damascus, who has left several other public monuments of his generosity in different parts of the Turkish empire. These bazars are generally crowded with people, the city being a place of considerable trade; but they have nothing else in them that deserves the attention of a traveller.

One day we took a walk into the Ager Damascus, a long beautiful meadow on the West side of the city, divided in the middle by the main stream of the river Barrady. This meadow is called the Meidan by the Turks, and is not only taken notice of on account of its pleasantness, being encompassed with delightful gardens, but it is remarkable for a tradition current at Damascus, that God made Adam of the earth of this field; and the very spot where this was done, is distinguished by a little pillar fixed in the ground.

Adjoining to this meadow stands the Morestan, a large hospital founded by Solyman the Second, for the accommodation of poor pilgrims of all religions. Having entered it, we find ourselves in a pleasant square court, on one side whereof is a stately mosque, with a large dome in the middle of it, and a handsome minaret at each end, all covered with lead; as are likewise the domes over its portico, which are supported by lofty pillars. On the side of the square opposite to the mosque are the kitchens, and on each hand are cloysters and lodgings of no ordinary structure.

In our way homewards we passed by a great house where they make vast quantities of biscuit for the use of the Mahometan pilgrims; two hundred camels being annually loaded with it at Damascus, and as many with water, at the expence of the Grand Signior to be distributed among the poor, as they have occasion for it, in their journey from thence to Mecca. Soon after this we crossed the horse-market, where there is a stone about five feet high, concerning which the Turks have a tradition, that if ever it shall be covered with water, Damascus will be taken;

and this is no impossibility, for the place is liable enough to inundations.

The next thing that attracted our sight was a very beautiful bagnio, and not far from it a large coffee-house, capable of entertaining four or five hundred people. One part of it, designed for the reception of guests in the summer, is a small island, surrounded with a swift stream, where they sit under the shade of trees and matts, and regale themselves in a most agreeable manner. There are several other handsome coffee-houses about Damascus, but the Turks chiefly resort to such as are shaded with trees, and have little streams or canals near them; nothing delighting them more than greens and water, which according to one of their proverbs, with the addition of a beautiful face, are able to banish the most obstinate melancholy.

There are several other curiosities, real or fictitious, in the city of Damascus and its neighbourhood, which I must not forget to mention. One of them, to which travellers are usually first conducted, is the house of Ananias, or the place where he is said to have lived, when God commanded him in a vision to go to Saul, as is related in the Acts of the apostles *. It is a cell or grotto, to which we descend by thirteen or fourteen steps, and is as light as can be expected for such a subterraneous mansion. There is nothing remarkable in it at present, except some small remains of a mosaic pavement, and an altar that has continued there ever since it was a place of Christian worship; near which there is now a Turkish oratory.

The street called Straight, in the Acts †, still re-

* Acts ix. 10, 11, &c.

† Chap. ix. 11.

tains the same name at Damascus. It is about half a mile in length, running through the city from East to West, and is so very narrow, with the houses jutting over in several places, that the greatest part of it is dark and disagreeable, and one cannot see distinctly from one end of it to the other. In this street they shew us the house of Judas, with whom St. Paul lodged, and where he was restored to sight by Ananias*; and in the same house they pretend to have Ananias's tomb, which is raised against the wall, and covered with a green cloth; but how he came to be buried there, we could neither guess, nor get any information. However, the Turks have a great veneration for this tomb, and maintain a lamp always burning over it; but perhaps their respect is founded in their interest, for they receive an acknowledgment from every Frank who visits these sacred apartments.

About half a mile Eastward from the city, they show us the place of St. Paul's vision in his way to Damascus†, by which he was miraculously converted. And somewhat nearer the town we see a small timber inclosure, with an altar in the middle of it, where we are told the apostle rested after he had lost his sight, and was led towards Damascus by his companions‡. They likewise shew us a gate, which is at present walled up, where it is said St. Paul was let down in a basket||, to avoid the fury of the Jews who lay in wait for his life. I know not whether the Turks have stopped up this gate on account of its vicinity to the Eastern one, which renders it of little

* Acts ix. 17, 18.

† Ibid. ix. 3, et seqq.

‡ Ibid. ix. 8.

|| Ibid. ix. 25.

use; or because of a tradition they have, that the city will never be taken by any other entrance.

The mention of St. Paul's deliverance puts me in mind of a place not far from the walls of the city, where they tell us that the Jews stoned to death St. George the porter, for having favoured the apostle's escape. Here we are shewn the tomb of this saint, which stands in the middle of a sort of court, and is composed of free-stone, having a little pavilion erected over it in form of a pyramid. The Christians commonly keep a lamp burning at this sepulchre, and visit it with great devotion; and even the Turks in some measure imitate the example, repairing thither, as well as the Christians, for the cure of their several diseases, which they acknowledge they oftentimes miraculously obtain.

The weather being fair and pleasant, we set out from our convent one morning to spend a day among the gardens, where we met with a great deal of pleasure and entertainment. As we did not propose to go above a mile or two, we chose to walk on foot, rather than hire asses to carry us; for such is the insolence of the Turks at Damascus, that they will not suffer a Frank to ride on horseback, when he goes to see the gardens or other curiosities without the city, but he must either walk on foot or ride upon an ass; and accordingly there are always hackney asses stand ready equipped in the streets, to be let upon these occasions. The rider need not use either whip or spur; for when he is mounted, the master of the beast, or his servant, follows him wherever he goes, and forces him along with a goad, so that the poor ass performs his stage in less time than could be expected from so sluggish a creature.

The place where we spent this day afforded us a very agreeable summer-house, with a plentiful stream of water running through the garden, and formed into several fountains. The garden was full of fruit-trees of various kinds, particularly of the plum that takes its name from this city, being called a Damson, or Damascene by the English, and *Prunum Damascenum* in Latin. The trees are planted without any art or order; and such are all the gardens, or rather orchards hereabouts; only with this difference, that some of them have more elegant and splendid summer-houses than others, and are adorned with a greater variety of fountains and other water-works.

Having hired asses, we made another excursion to Sidonaia, a Greek convent about four hours Northward from Damascus, situate on the farther side of a large valley, and on a steep rock, wherein steps are cut all the way up to it, without which it would be inaccessible. The house is encompassed by a pretty strong wall, but is itself a very mean structure, and has nothing in it remarkable, except the excellent wine that is made by its inhabitants. It is said to have been founded and endowed by the emperor Justinian, and is at present possessed by about twenty Greek monks and thirty or forty nuns who seem to live promiscuously together as in one family, without any order or separation *.

This rock, one may reasonably presume, was anciently esteemed a very sacred place, for within a little compass round about it, we find no less than six-

* Such a retirement, as one observes, with good wine, agreeable company, and fine women, can be no great mortification; and possibly few people would think it a hardship to be thus banished from the rest of the world.

teen churches or oratories, dedicated to some saint or other; but most of them are now in a ruinous condition. On the East side of the rock is an ancient sepulchre, being a cavity about eight yards square, hollowed out of the solid stone, and having ten or twelve coffins or graves cut in its sides, wherein dead bodies have been deposited. Over the entrance are three niches, each containing two statues as big as the life, with some mangled and obscure Greek inscriptions upon the pedestals.

It is related by the monks of this convent, that having formerly in their chapel a little picture of the Blessed Virgin, much resorted to by her votaries, and famous for the many miraculous cures and blessings obtained in answer to their prayers, it happened that a sacriligious rogue took an opportunity to steal it away, but he had not kept it long, before he observed it was metamorphosed into real flesh and bones; at which he was in such a consternation, that he carried it back in haste to the right owners, confessing his crime, and imploring their forgiveness. The good fathers having recovered this precious treasure, now become still more valuable on account of the last miracle, in order to prevent its ever being stolen again, deposited the body, as they tell us, in a chest of stone, and placed it in a cavity in the wall behind the altar, fixing an iron grate before it for its greater security. Upon this grate are hung abundance of little trinkets, the offerings of people who have paid their devotions at this shrine, and ascribe the success of their prayers to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. The monks also place a small silver bason under the chest that contains this sacred deposit, from whence they pretend there distils an holy oil,

of great efficacy in curing all disorders incident to the eyes, and many other distempers.—Unhappy state of Christianity in these parts! What must the Turks and other infidels think of a religion, where the frauds and follies of its votaries are so glaring and notorious?

The soil about Damascus, as in most parts of Syria, is fruitful, producing plenty of wheat; and their vineyards yield abundance of grapes, which grow in very large clusters; but their wines in general are not well flavoured, though they are strong and intoxicating. The country abounds with variety of game, and provisions of all kinds are tolerably cheap, considering that the place is extremely populous, the suburbs being much larger than the city itself. The sheep hereabouts are large, and their tails of a prodigious size, surpassing those I took notice of near Smyrna; but, in my opinion, their flesh is not half so sweet as our English mutton.

The greatest part of the inhabitants of Damascus are Turks, who generally keep a garrison in it of three or four thousand Janizaries. The city has eight gates, and is encompassed with a good wall, double in some places, and flanked with round, or square towers at convenient distances. The patriarch of Antioch usually resides here, and about fifteen hundred persons of the Greek communion: the rest of the inhabitants are Maronites, Armenians, Jews, and some Latins, who have their respective churches, or places of divine worship; except the Latins, who say mass in a church of the Maronites.

As to the trade of Damascus, it is very considerable, as I before observed, and its artificers are exceeding numerous, many thousands being employed in

making sword-blades *, knives, and all manner of fine utensils of iron and steel, the water here being esteemed excellent for tempering their metal. The branching of the silken stuffs, from hence called Damasks, is another manufacture in which these people excel; and they make great quantities of soap, raw and wrought silks. Some cotton, wine and rose-water, made of the damask roses which grow here plentifully, are the principal merchandises brought from Damascus. It is also famous for the finest alabaster, and for a red soft earth found in the Ager Damas-cenus, said to be a sovereign remedy for a fractured bone, or the bite of a venomous animal; but whether these virtues are more to be depended upon than the

* The artificers of Damascus are also thoroughly skilled in the art of adorning iron, steel, &c. by making incisions therein, and filling them up with gold or silver wire, chiefly used in enriching sword-blades, guards and gripes, locks of pistols, and the like. Hence this art is called Damaskeening, having had its rise at Damascus, or at least been practised there in its greatest perfection. Damaskeening is partly mosaic work, partly engraving, and partly carving; as mosaic work, it consists of pieces inlaid; as engraving; the metal is indented, or cut "en creux;" and as carving, gold and silver are wrought there in relievo. There are two ways of damaskeening: in the first, which is the most beautiful, the artist cuts into the metal with a graver or other proper tool, and afterwards fills up the incisions with a pretty thick silver or gold wire; the incisions being made in the dovetail form, that the wire, which is thrust forcibly into them, may adhere the more strongly. The second method, which is only superficial, but is the more usual, is thus: having heated the steel till it changes to a violet or blue colour, they make hatches or strokes across it with a knife, such as is used in the making of small files; and then draw the design, or ornament intended, on this hatching, with a fine brass point or bodkin; after which, they take fine gold wire, and conducting or chasing it according to the figures already designed, they sink it carefully with a copper tool into the hatches of the metal.

tradition of Adam's formation in that field, I shall not take upon me to determine.

The mention of the formation of Adam brings to my remembrance a dispute we had one evening with the superior of the convent where we lodged, concerning the situation of the terrestrial Paradise, or Garden of Eden; which the good man, contrary to the sentiments of all the rest of the company, would needs place in the neighbourhood of Damascus. From hence I took occasion, at my leisure hours, to digest as well as possible what was advanced by every person who had a share in the discourse; and since that time I have likewise diligently examined the several opinions of the most learned writers on this subject; so that I hope to be able to give the reader a clear view of the whole controversy, and to point out to him the delightful place of abode allotted to our first parents in their state of happiness and innocence.

It is well known what a variety of extravagant notions have been entertained concerning a local paradise, the subject of our present enquiry. Several of the primitive fathers believed there never was any such thing, interpreting in an allegorical sense whatever is spoken of it in scripture. Others, who allowed the reality of a paradise, have rambled so far from the sacred text, as to exclude it from any part of the terrestrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle region of the air, &c. And of those who allow it a situation in this sublunary world, some have carried it into a far distant country, quite removed from the knowledge of men; others have fix-

ed it under the North pole *, and others have assigned it the place at present possessed by the Caspian sea; with many more extravagancies of the like nature, which have been collected by several authors, some of whom have thought it worth while to give such reveries a serious answer.

Even the more rational sort of enquirers after the terrestrial paradise are strangely divided in their opinions, almost every corner of the earth having been ransacked in search of this wonderful garden. It has been looked for in Tartary, in China, in the isle of Ceylon, in Persia, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in Chaldea, in Arabia, in Palestine, in Lybia, in Ethiopia, and (which seems as much out of the way as any) even in Sweden. Lastly, some have concluded, that there never was originally any place upon our globe of peculiar and superlative beauty, but that the whole earth, in its primitive state, was equally paradisiacal; that Moses, in his account of paradise, only puts a part for the whole, the better to accommodate it to his reader's conception; or that, if ever there were such a beautiful place upon the earth, the violent concussions which happened at the deluge have so entirely changed the face of nature, that it is almost impossible at present to find it out.

This diversity of opinions proceeds partly from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of Christianity, of allegorizing all passages of scripture that appeared difficult to be understood; and partly from the little agreement to be found between

* This was the opinion of Postellus, which he grounded upon an ancient tradition of the Egyptians and Babylonians, that the ecliptic or sun's way at first crossed the equator at right angles, and so passed directly over the Arctic pole.

the geography of Moses and that of the heathen authors, whose imperfections are not yet perhaps sufficiently supplied to give as much assistance to determine the affair in question. As for the Jews, from whom we might naturally expect some light into matters that concern their own antiquities, they are utterly ignorant of the geography of their Bible, and have run astray as much as other nations in their description of paradise; Josephus, and all the rest of their authors, supposing the Ganges and the Nile to be two of its four rivers, in which they have been followed almost unanimously by the Christian fathers.

There are several places which bear the name of Eden, two whereof we find mentioned in scripture, besides that in the Mosaical description, viz. one in Syria *, and the other in Chaldea about Telassar †, which perhaps may be the same with that of Moses. I have already mentioned an Eden near Tripoli; and we are told of an island in the Tigris so called by the people of the country. There is a city near Tarsus in Cilicia still called Adena, and Aden is a noted one on the coast of Arabia Felix; for Eden or Aden signifying pleasure, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation, considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country; which last seems to be the case of Aden in Arabia.

But let us consider the description of Eden given us by Moses, which is as follows: “And the Lord
“ God planted a garden Eastward in Eden:—And a
“ river went out of Eden to water the garden; and
“ from thence it was parted, and became into four

* Amos i. 5.

† 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12.

“ heads. The name of the first is Pison; that is it
“ which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where
“ there is gold. And the gold of that land is good:
“ there is bdellium and the onyx-stone. And the
“ name of the second river is Gihon; the same is it
“ that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia (or
“ Cush.) And the name of the third river is Hid-
“ dekel: that is it which goeth toward the East of
“ (or Eastward to) Assyria. And the fourth river is
“ Euphrates.” *

To me it appears evident from this account, that Moses had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded by countries and rivers, very well known in his time by the names he gives them, and, as appears from scripture, for many ages after. Can we doubt that Eden is a real country, any more than Ararat where the ark rested, and Shinar whither the sons of Noah removed after the flood? We find it mentioned as such in scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another by the sacred historian.

As to the supposition, that a very great change was made in the face of countries, and the course of rivers, by the violence of the deluge, it seems to be no just discouragement to an enquiry after the place of the terrestrial paradise; for it cannot be thought, that Moses, who wrote 850 years after the flood, would have given us such a particular description of the garden of Eden, if there had been no marks or indications of it then remaining. Besides, he does

* Gen. ii. 8, 10—14.

not make use of antediluvian names in his account of paradise; for the names of the rivers, and the countries adjacent, Cush *, Havilah, &c. are of a latter date: so that it appears to have been the intention of Moses to give us, according to the geography of his times, some hints where Eden and the garden of paradise were situated in the former world; and which I doubt not, may still be discovered by carefully attending to his description.

Some eminent modern writers, deceived by the affinity of names, have supposed they found the name of the Pison preserved in the Pasi-Tigris, or rather (as they would have it, to favour their hypothesis) the Piso-Tigris; whilst others take for granted that it is the Phasis, as they conclude the Aras to be the Gihon, from the conformity of the signification; both those terms being used by the Persians to signify any great river in general. But if such conjectures as these were to be taken for solid arguments, Eden might be discovered any where, and every where, since a conformity of names, either in sound or signification, may be found in all countries; and if that sort of proof be admitted, unless under proper restrictions, it will be no difficult matter to prove that

* Our translators have often swerved from the original Hebrew to follow the Septuagint, and here in particular have rendered the word Cush (which country was so called from Cush the father of Nimrod, first founder of the Assyrian monarchy) by the name of Ethiopia, which has led Josephus and several others into a mistake, that the river Gihon was the Nile in Egypt; and, supposing withal, that the country of Havilah was some part of the East Indies, they have run into another error, and taken Pison for the Ganges; whereby they make the garden of Eden contain the greatest part of Asia, and some part of Africa likewise, which is a supposition quite incredible.

America was peopled by the immediate descendants of Noah, as some have ventured to affirm.

The words Bdolah and Shoham, in the Mosaical description of Eden, which our translators have rendered Bdellium and Onyx-stone, afford us but little light in our enquiry; for being unknown names, as well as Havilah, the country which is said to produce them, they are interpreted by every one so as to favour the particular scheme he espouses. Thus bdolah by some has been rendered bdellium; by others the carbuncle, the loadstone, the oleaster; and those who place paradise in Armenia will have it to be crystal, in which country that stone is to be found. Others, who fix it in Chaldea, insist that it signifies pearl, which is fished in great quantities about Baharen or Bahrein, an island on the Arabian coast in the Persian gulph; upon which coast, according to this hypothesis, we are to place the land of Havilah: and indeed this conjecture seems to come nearest the truth, since manna is compared in scripture to the bdolah for colour*, and the Talmudists describe manna to be round as coriander seed, and white as pearls. In like manner the word shoham is made by some authors to signify the beryl, and the emerald; perhaps with as little propriety as it is rendered in our Bibles the onyx-stone, which translation is condemned by several learned men, and particularly the famous Bochart, whose skill in the oriental languages is universally acknowledged.

Of the various opinions concerning the situation of paradise, there are three which principally obtain among the learned, and which are the only ones that

* Numb. ix. 7.

deserve our attention. The first, which places paradise near Damascus in Syria, though patronized by great names †, seems to have the least foundation; for the garden of Eden is to be sought for Eastward from the place where Moses wrote his history, which was probably in Arabia Petræa, whereas Syria lies North of that country. But we need no other reason for rejecting this scheme, but its being destitute, as it really is, of all the marks specified in the Mosaical description, which ought always to be the principal test in this enquiry.

The second hypothesis places Eden in Armenia, between the sources of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Phasis; but is not much better supported than the first, though espoused by men eminent for their skill in geography ‡: for, according to modern discoveries, the Phasis does not rise in the mountains of Armenia, near the springs of the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Tigris, (as Strabo and other ancient geographers have wrongly informed us) but has its source in Mount Caucasus, and does not flow from South to North, but from North to South: so that, according to this scheme, we want a whole river, except, instead of the Phasis, we substitute the Kur, which joins the Araxes before it falls into the Caspian sea. But to do justice to the hypothesis under examination, I find it espoused by an ingenious modern traveller, I mean M. Tournefort,

† Its chief patrons are Heidegger in his *hist. Patriarch*, p. 94. Le Clere on *Gen. ii. 8*. Pere Abram in his *Pharus Vet. Test.* l. 2. and Pere Hardouin in his edition of Pliny.

‡ The greatest abettors of this scheme are Sanson in his *Atlas*, Reland in his *dissertat. de Situ Paradisi*, and Calmet in his *Dictionary* and his *Commentary on Gen. ii. 8*.

who also takes the Phasis for Pison, though he has not told us where that river rises, or which way it shapes its course. After this gentleman has rejected the scheme of his countryman, bishop Huett, he lays down his own in the following manner.

“ The commentators upon Genesis, says he, even
“ those who keep most closely to the letter, do not
“ think it necessary, in order to assign the place of
“ paradise to find a river which divides itself into
“ four branches, because of the great alteration the
“ deluge may have occasioned; but think it suffi-
“ ent to shew the heads of the rivers mentioned by
“ Moses, namely the Euphrates, Tigris, Pison and
“ Gihon. It cannot therefore be doubted, but that
“ paradise must have been in the way between Erze-
“ rum and Teflis, if it be allowed to take the Phasis
“ for Pison, and the Araxes for Gihon. And then,
“ not to remove paradise too far from the sources of
“ these rivers, it must of necessity be placed in the
“ beautiful vales of Georgia, which furnish Erzerum
“ with all kinds of fruits. If we may suppose it to
“ have been a place of considerable extent, and to
“ have retained some of its beauties, notwithstand-
“ ing the alterations made in the earth at the flood,
“ and since that time, I do not know a finer spot to
“ which I can assign it, than the country of the three
“ churches, a town about twenty French leagues
“ distant from the heads of the Euphrates and Ar-
“ axes, and almost as many from the Phasis. The ex-
“ tent of paradise must at least reach to the heads of
“ these rivers; and so it will comprehend the anci-
“ ent Media, and part of Armenia and Iberia: or, if
“ this be thought too large a compass, it may be con-
“ fined only to part of Iberia and Armenia, that is,

“ from Erzerum to Teflis; for undoubtedly the plain
 “ of Erzerum ought to be taken in, which is at the
 “ head of the Euphrates and Araxes.—Our learned
 “ men may think as they please; but as I have never
 “ seen a more beautiful country than the neighbour-
 “ hood of the three churches, I am strongly persuad-
 “ ed it is the place where Adam and Eve were creat-
 “ ed.” These are M. Tournefort’s sentiments con-
 cerning the situation of the terrestrial paradise; but
 as they seem chiefly grounded upon the beauty of
 the country, which in other respects is far from an-
 swering the Mosaical description of Eden, they give
 us but little satisfaction.

The third hypothesis, which appears the most pro-
 bable, places Eden upon the united stream of the Ti-
 gris and Euphrates, called by the Arabs, Shat al A-
 rab, that is, the river of the Arabs; which begins
 two days journey from Bassora, and about five
 leagues below divides again into two channels, that
 empty themselves into the Persian gulf*. Thus the
 Shat al Arab is the river going out of Eden, which
 river, considered according to the disposition of its
 channel, and not according to the course of its
 stream, divides into four heads or different branches,
 which make the four rivers mentioned by Moses;
 two below, viz. the branches of the Shat, which
 serve for the Pison and Gihon; and two above, viz.
 the Euphrates and Tigris, the latter whereof is now
 called Dijlat by the Arabs, and is allowed to be the
 Hidekel † of Moses. By this description the Western

* This opinion was first started by Calvin, and has been fol-
 lowed, with some little variation by Stephanus Morinus, Bochart,
 Huet bishop of Avranches, and divers others.

† This is granted by all interpreters, as well as the LXX; and

branch of the Shat will be Pison, and the adjoining part of Arabia, bordering on the Persian gulph, will be Havilah; and the Eastern branch will be Gihon, encompassing the country of Cush, or Chuzestan, as it is still called by the Persians.

This last opinion agrees very well with the sacred text, which informs us, that “a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads;” which words manifestly imply, that in Eden the river was but one, or one single channel; but from thence, that is, when it was gone out of Eden, it was parted, and became four streams or openings, (as the Hebrew word may be translated) two upwards, and two downwards: for supposing the united channel, or Shat al Arab, to be our common center, we may, if we look one way, *i. e.* up towards Babylon, see the Tigris and Euphrates coming into it; and, if we look another way,

though it may be difficult to shew any just analogy between the names of Hiddekel and Tigris, yet, if we either observe Moses' method of reckoning up the four rivers, or consider the true geography of the country, we shall easily perceive that the river Hiddekel could properly be no other. For as in respect to the place where Moses wrote, Pison lay nearest to him, and so, in a natural order, was named first; and the Gihon, lying near to that, was accordingly reckoned second; so, having passed over that stream, and turning to the left, in order to come back again to Arabia Petraea, (where Moses was) we meet, in our passage, with Tigris in the third place; and so, proceeding Westward through the lower part of Mesopotamia, come at last to Pherath or Euphrates: for it is to be remembered, that the Tigris parts Assyria from Mesopotamia, and meeting with the Euphrates a little below Babylon, runs along with it in one common channel, until they separate again, and make the two streams Pison and Gihon, which empty themselves into the Persian gulph.—As to Euphrates, the name is analagous enough to the Hebrew word Pherath; but yet

i. e. down towards the Persian gulph, see the Pison and the Gihon running out of it.

But though this hypothesis seems the best of any that have been yet advanced, and to account tolerably well for the Mosaical description, it is liable to some exceptions; for the two branches of the Shat al Arab, supposed to be the Pison and Gihon of the scripture, do not seem considerable enough to deserve the name of rivers, nor of sufficient length to encompass countries of any extent, it being not a great many leagues from their division below Bas-sora to the places where they fall into the Persian gulph. Indeed, if we could be sure there were a third branch, as some accounts and maps would induce us to believe, parting from the Shat about Bas-sora, and falling into the sea at Catif, it would be more agreeable to suppose that to be the Pison; and for the Gihon we might naturally substitute either the Koran or the Karha, the first of which falls into the Shat, the other into the Tigris, and may with greater propriety be said to encompass the whole land of Cush, as running through Chuzestan; whereas the Eastern branch of the Shat washes only a corner of that country, or rather one side of an island formed by it and the Koran.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the above objection, I know of no scheme so reasonable, so agree-

we must acknowledge it is one of those corrupt names which our translators have borrowed from the Septuagint version, and which probably the Greeks (as has been judiciously observed by Reland) took from the Persians, who often set the word *ah* or *au*, (which signifies water, before the names of rivers; of which word and *Frat* (as the river is still called by the neighbouring people) the name Euphrates is apparently compounded.—See Stackhouse, and Universal History.

able to the description given us by the sacred historian, as that which places Eden upon the great channel formed by the united rivers Tigris and Euphrates; and the extraordinary fertility and goodness of the neighbouring soil may help to confirm us in this opinion: for as it would be absurd to imagine that God would plant the garden of paradise in a barren land, so all ancient historians and geographers inform us, that Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and other adjacent countries, were extremely pleasant and fruitful; and modern travellers particularly assure us, that in all the Grand Signior's dominions there is not a finer country (though in some places it lies uncultivated) than that between Bagdat and Bassora, the very tract of ground, which, according to the scheme I am speaking of, was anciently called the land of Eden.

It remains briefly to consider in what precise part of the land of Eden the garden of paradise was planted; and this seems to be intimated by Moses, when he tells us that it was Eastward in Eden; whereby, we may suppose, he does not mean that it lay Eastward from the place where he was then writing, (which every body might easily infer) but intends to point out, as near as possible, the very spot of ground where it was originally seated. If then this delightful garden lay in the Easterly part of the country of Eden, and the river which watered it ran through that country (as we learn from scripture it did) before it entered the garden, we must necessarily conclude that paradise was situated on the East side of one of the turnings of the Shat al Arab, that is, the river formed by the conjunction of the Tigris and Euphrates; and probably at the lowest great turning,

mentioned by Ptolemy, not far from the place where Arecca, called Erec in scripture*, is now seated by our modern geographers.

After all, it must be acknowledged, that there is no map of the country wherein we have placed the land of Eden, which makes the rivers exactly answer the description of them given us by Moses; but as he unquestionably wrote according to the best geography of those times, if the course or number of rivers about Babylon have since undergone great alterations, this has probably been occasioned by the cuts and canals made by order of the monarchs of that empire, of Alexander the Great, and even of Trojan and Severus, to facilitate commerce and render the country fruitful. And yet, notwithstanding this, according to all modern observations, we find wider variations in the situation of places, and are obliged to make greater corrections in ancient charts and maps, than need be made in the Mosaical description of Eden, to bring it to an agreement with our latest accounts of the present country and rivers near Chaldea. So that I think, till some stronger arguments, than have yet been advanced, are brought against the hypothesis which places Eden upon the Tigris and Euphrates united, we may safely conclude, that there, or thereabouts, was the delightful garden, the habitation of the first parents of mankind †.—

* Gen. x. 10.—It is said to have several springs of Naphtha in its neighbourhood, a kind of liquid bitumen, very oily and inflammable, and hard to be extinguished. Hence that verse of Tibullus,

“Ardet Areoæcis ut unda perhospita campis.”

† To this account I cannot forbear subjoining the description which our inimitable Milton gives us of the garden of paradise wherein he beautifully represents its pleasing variety.

I now return from this digression, which I hope will not be disagreeable to the reader.

Before I leave Damascus, permit me, according to my usual method, to look back a little into the ancient history of Syria in general, and of that renowned city in particular. Syria in the Hebrew language is called Aram, the country having been first peopled by Aram the youngest son of Shem; but whence it obtained the name of Syria is not so easy to determine, though it is probably a contraction of Assyria, the ancients often confounding them together. Authors are not at all agreed concerning the exact bounds of this country, because they consider it at different times, when its name was more or less famous, and

————— Thus was this place

A happy rural seat of various view:

Groves, whose rich trees wept od'rous gums and balm;

Others, whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind,

Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables true,

If true, here only) and of delicious taste.

Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks

Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd;

Or palmy hillock, or the flow'ry lap

Of some irriguous valley spread her store,

Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose.

Another side, umbrageous grots, and caves

Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine

Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps

Luxuriant. Mean while murm'ring waters fall

Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake

(That to the fringed bank, with myrtle crown'd.

Her crystal mirror holds) unite their streams.

The birds their choir apply: Airs, vernal airs,

Breathing the smell of fields and groves, attune

The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,

Knit with the graces, and the hours, in dance

Lead on th' eternal spring—————

Paradise Lost, Book IV.

its empire more or less extensive: but if we confine ourselves to the proper Syria, we may venture to fix its limits, and ascertain its dimensions. It lay between the Mediterranean on the West, and the river Euphrates on the East; and between Mount Taurus on the North, and Arabia Deserta, Palestine, and Phoenice on the South; being about three hundred and seventy-five miles in length from North to South, and three hundred in breadth from East to West. Syria has likewise been variously divided, having been at first parcelled out in a great number of little kingdoms and jurisdictions; and afterwards into four principal ones, Zobah, Damascus, Hamath, and Geshur. In the proper Syria only, Ptolemy reckons the following provinces; Commagene, Pieria, Cyrrhastica, Seleucis, Cassiotis, Chalybonites, Chalcidene, Apumene, Laodicene, Phoenicia Mediterranea, Cœlesyria *, and Palmyrene.

The posterity of Shem by Aram did not long keep this country wholly to themselves; for their relations of the line of Ham by Canaan, being straitened for want of room in the places where they first settled, encroached upon them by degrees, and seized a portion of their lot, which they kept till both of them were involved in one common destruction and captivi-

* It is impossible to reconcile the ancient geographers, so as to determine the bounds of what they mean by Cœlesyria; but however the name may have been extended, the proper Cœlesyria, or Syria Cava, which is taken to be the same, was undoubtedly the vale between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, to which Strabo confines it. Its chief cities are Heliopolis, now Balbeck; and Damascus, now Scham: but this latter does not lie in the above-mentioned valley, as Heliopolis does, being to the Eastward of Anti-Libanus, and therefore, strictly speaking, ought not to be reckoned in Cœlesyria, where it is commonly and inaccurately placed.

ty. The ancient Syrians then were partly descended from Shem, and partly from Ham, (whose offspring are nearly of equal standing in this country) and very little behind any nation in antiquity; nay, Syria must have been peopled sooner than any other part of the world, if we believe the tradition current among its present inhabitants, that Adam was formed, and Abel slain, in the neighbourhood of Damascus.

It is certain that the Syrians were anciently governed by heads of families, who had the title of kings; and that they continued under the same government, in part, even to the days of Saul, is plain from the kings of Zobah, mentioned in scripture * among the rest enemies. We have, indeed, some reason to conjecture, that this was not the only form of government to be met with in that country; for as Gibeon in Canaan, in the days of Joshua, seems to have been a common-wealth among the many kingdoms there, so Damascus in Syria, seems to have been the same in the time of David, being spoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the hands of the people. It is said that the Syrians of Damascus †, not their king, succoured Hadarezer king of Zobah with above twenty thousand men; which seems to imply, (for we do not say it is indisputably clear) that they were something like what we call a republic.

Be this as it will, we are assured that the kingdom of Damascus rose upon the ruins of that of Zobah, of which we have no farther account after the total defeat of Hadarezer's army by king David, when forty thousand Syrians, together with their general

* 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

† 2 Sam. viii. 6.

Shobach, were killed in the field *. Rezon, who deserted from Hadarezer, having secured a body of troops in his interest after the loss of this battle, seized on Damascus, and was the founder of that noble kingdom proving a very troublesome and inveterate enemy to Israel in the reign of Solomon †, when that prince was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himself and his people.

His successors Hezion and Tabrimon had no misunderstandings with the kings of Judah and Israel; But Benhadad I. the son and successors of Tabrimon, was prevailed upon by large presents from Asia king of Judah, to make war upon Baasha king of Israel; from whom his army took Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah, all Cinneroth, and all the land of Naphtali ‡, and at last extended his power to the city of Samaria itself.

This prince was succeeded by his son, also named Benhadad, who vigorously prosecuted the enmity his father had so successfully begun against Israel; but he was twice remarkably baffled in his attempts by the interposition of heaven. He marched with a numerous army, in which were no less than thirty-two kings ||, and sat down before Samaria, summoning Ahab to surrender himself as his vassal, to acknowledge himself to be his creature, and that all belonging to him was at his service and disposal. Ahab returned a very submissive answer to this haughty message; but not satisfied with that, Benhadad sent again into the city to let Ahab know, that the next day he intended to send some officers to search his palace and the houses of the citizens,

* 1 Sam. x. 28. † 1 Kings xi. 23—25. ‡ 1 Kings xv.

18, 19, 20.

|| Compare 1 Kings xx. 1. with xxii. 31.

and to bring away all their riches, together with their wives and children. The king of Israel, by the unanimous advice of his people, refused to submit to so unparalleled an indignity; which highly exasperated Benhadad, who expected to meet with no opposition. He sent a third time, however, to Ahab, to try if he could threaten him into a compliance with his demands; but the king of Israel sent a very bold and wise reply to his vain menaces, advising him to wait the event of things before he reckoned himself sure of success: "Tell him, (says Ahab to Benhadad's messengers) "Let not him that girdeth "on his harness boast himself, as he that putteth it "of *."

The army of Benhadad was hereupon ordered to invest the city of Samaria in form, and to make all the necessary preparations for an assault. But God, who was justly provoked at this proud Syrian, sent a prophet to Ahab, not only to assure him of victory, but to instruct him in what method he should obtain it. In the mean time Benhadad, who was a voluptuous prince, and given to drinking, being not at all apprehensive of danger, was indulging himself in the midst of his cups, when news was brought him that a party was advancing from Samaria. This, however, gave him so little disturbance, that in a careless manner he only gave orders that they should be brought before him alive, whether they came as friends or as enemies, and so continued his mirth and carousing. The party which was sallying out of the city was a number of chosen men headed by Ahab himself, and followed by a larger body, who, depending upon the encouragement of the prophet, fell

* 1 Kings xx. 11.

furiously upon the numerous army of the Syrians, whilst they were lost in security, and did not so much as dream of an attack; and such a panic immediately spread itself over all the camp, that no one thought of any thing but saving himself by flight; and particularly Benhadad mounted a horse, and fled precipitately with his cavalry, instead of rallying and confirming his people. The Israelites pursued and made a terrible slaughter of their flying enemies.

The same prophet, notwithstanding this victory, gave the king of Israel great caution to recruit his army, and be upon his guard, against the ensuing year, foretelling that the Syrians would then pay him another visit, which came to pass accordingly: for some of Benhadad's officers, glad of any excuse to palliate their inglorious flight, pretended that the gods of the Israelites were gods of the hills*, and therefore no wonder the Syrian army had been defeated; and assured the king, that if he could but draw the Israelites to an engagement in a plain open country, his gods, who presided over the plains, would undoubtedly

* Hence it appears how early the notion of topical deities prevailed in the world, some being made to preside over whole countries, whilst others had particular places under their tuition and government; and were some of them gods of the rivers, others of the woods and others of the mountains. The conceit of the Syrians, that the God of Israel was a god of the hills, might proceed from their observing Canaan to be a mountainous country; and it is probable they must have known, that the Jewish law was delivered on a mountain; that the Israelites were remarkably fond of sacrificing on high places; and that the temple of Jerusalem stood upon a famous eminence, as did Samaria, where they had so lately received a signal defeat.—That the gods did not only assist with their influence, but actually engage themselves in battle in behalf of their favourites, is a well-known sentiment of the ancient heathens.

prevail. Benhadad hearkened to this representation, and having raised an army of equal force with that which he had lost the year before, he marched towards the king of Israel, and encamped near Aphek, a city of the tribe of Asher. The Israelites, whose numbers were quite despicable if compared with the Syrians, encamped over-against them; and for seven days the two armies continued in this situation. On the seventh day they came to a battle, wherein the Syrians lost, of foot only, a hundred thousand men, the rest flying with precipitation to Aphek, where twenty thousand more of them were destroyed by the falling of the walls of the city.

The king of Syria now gave all over for lost, and in despair concealed himself in some part of Aphek, where he thought he could not be easily found; but his officers, reminding him that the kings of Israel had been generous enemies, advised him to throw himself upon Ahab's mercy, and to send ambassadors to him in the humblest manner, to make his submission to the conqueror. Ahab, overjoyed at his victory, was in an excellent temper to receive them, calling Benhadad his brother, and expressing his satisfaction to hear he was alive. In a word, the Syrian prince was brought to Ahab, admitted into his chariot, and a peace was concluded between them on the following conditions: That Benhadad should restore all the country which his father had wrested from Israel, and grant Ahab certain privileges and authority in his capital Damascus, as a token of his homage and subjection.

If Benhadad adhered to his word with Ahab in other respects, he kept possession of Ramoth-Gilead, which was the subject of a fresh war between them,

wherein Ahab was assisted by Jehoshaphat king of Judah. The two kings marched with their forces towards Ramoth-Gilead, where they found the Syrians prepared to receive them; but Ahab, having sufficient reason to think that the enemy would mark him out for destruction, disguised himself before the battle in the garb of a common officer, advising Jehoshaphat to fight in his royal robes. Ahab's apprehensions were not without foundation; for the king of Syria had given particular orders to his captains who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only against the king of Israel. This had like to have proved fatal to Jehoshaphat, whom they mistook for Ahab, and accordingly fell upon him with great impetuosity; but they soon desisted from pursuing him, having discovered that he was not the person they were commanded to destroy. Ahab's precaution, however, could not save him from the fate he endeavoured to evade, for he was mortally wounded by a random arrow; and though he was held up in his chariot for some time with his face towards the enemy, to encourage his soldiers, yet he died about sun-set, and a retreat was sounded. It appears that this battle was fierce and obstinate, and that both armies drew off under covert of the night, perhaps with equal loss, and doubtful victory.*

Some years after this, we find Benhadad once more marching against Samaria, which he besieged so closely with all his forces, that he reduced it to the greatest distress, and was on the point of taking it by famine, when he was alarmed in the night by a noise like that of a great army rushing in upon him; whereby he was so terrified, that he raised the

* 1 Kings xxii. 30—36.

siege with the utmost precipitation. His army left behind them their horses, asses, tents, and every thing standing in the camp just as it was when they first took the alarm; and also dropped upon the road whatever was cumbersome to them, and retarded their flight †.

After this miraculous raising of the siege of Samaria, Benhadad was deterred from making any farther attempts upon Israel; nor do we hear any more of him in the sacred history, till Elisha went to Damascus to execute the order of declaring Hazael king, which was originally given to his predecessor Elijah. Benhadad then laboured under a fit of sickness, and hearing of Elisha's arrival, to whose abilities he was no stranger, he sent Hazael to wait upon him with a very noble present, and to enquire of him whether he should recover of his indisposition. The prophet told Hazael that his master might recover, his distemper not being of itself mortal, but that he was very sure he would not; and then fixing his eyes stedfastly upon him, he at length burst into tears, upon the prospect (as he declared to Hazael) of the many calamities he would bring upon Israel when he was advanced to the throne of Syria, as he was assured he would be by divine revelation. Upon this Hazael returned to his master, and concealing the prophet's answer, flattered him with hopes of recovery; which however, he took care to prevent, by stifling him the next day with a thick cloth dipped in water. This was the end of Benhadad, who having no son of his own, and Hazael being a man of great esteem, especially among the soldiery, he was, without much difficulty, declared his successor.

† 2 Kings vi. 24 and vii. 6. 7—15.

According to Elisha's prediction, this prince was a scourge in the hand of God, to chastise the kingdoms of Judah and Israel; and under him the Syrian monarchy rose to its greatest splendor. However, he seems to have sat very quietly on his throne, till he was provoked by Joram king of Israel, and Ahaziah king of Judah*, who confederated against him to dispossess him of Ramoth-Gilead; in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of Benhadad. It seems as if they succeeded in their enterprize, though Joram was dangerously wounded in the attempt: but Hazael made himself ample amends by invading both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and reducing them almost to destruction. He began with Jehu king of Israel, and made himself master of all that prince's dominions on the East of Jordan, the countries of Gilead and Bashan, the two tribes Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh:† and we learn from Josephus, that in the prosecution of this conquest he was guilty of all manner of outrages and cruelty; thereby punctually fulfilling whatever the prophet Elisha had foretold of him in the conversation they had together at Damascus, as above related.

With the same fury and success he made war upon Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, till he had left him only fifty horse, ten chariots, and ten thousand foot; and having thus chastised Israel, he turned his arms against the kingdom of Judah. He therefore crossed the Jordan, made himself master of Gath, and marched forward to besiege Jerusalem itself; but he was diverted from that undertaking by the rich gifts of the weak and apostate Jehoash, then king of Judah,

* 2 Kings viii. 7—15.

† Kings x. 32, 33.

who, dreading the Syrian power and the miseries of a siege, took all the costly vessels which his ancestors had devoted to the service of God, and all the gold that was laid up in the treasuries of the temple, besides what was found in the royal treasury, and sent it as a present to Hazael to withdraw his troops. The king of Syria did so for a while*; but about the latter end of the same year, or the next at farthest, he sent an army into the territories of Judah, which defeated the forces of Jehoash though much more numerous, ravaged the country, sacked Jerusalem, slew all the princes of the people there, and sent their spoil to Hazael at Damascus.†

This great prince, having thus subdued and tyrannized over the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, died, and was succeeded by his son called Benhadad, a name affected by most of the kings of Syria. The young monarch had not reigned long, before he experienced a total reverse of his father's fortune, being thrice defeated by Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz king of Israel, whereby he lost all that Hazael had wrested from that kingdom. Nothing more is said of this obscure and unfortunate reign; but probably this Benhadad was made tributary by Jeroboam, the son of Jehoash king of Israel, who kept Syria all his lifetime in the strictest subjection.

The Syrians recovered themselves again amidst the disorders which raged in the kingdom of Israel upon Jeroboam's death, but not so perfectly as to be quite a free people; for we may reasonably suppose, they were in some measure subject to the newly erected empire of Assyria. But not to dwell on this uncertainty, their last king was Rezin, who, towards

* 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

† 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, 24.

the latter end of his reign, entered into a league with Pekah king of Israel, against Ahaz king of Judah, with a design to dethrone him, and to set up the son of Tabeal, a stranger to the line of David.* With this view the confederate kings entered the dominions of Ahaz with a great army, ravaged his country, and closely besieged him in Jerusalem; but as God had stirred up these princes only to punish Ahaz for his wickedness, and not to cut off the whole family of David, he did not suffer them to succeed in their undertaking; for finding themselves unable to take the city, they raised the siege and returned home.

The next year the two kings prosecuted the war against Ahaz, dividing their army into three bodies, and invading his kingdom in three different places at the same time. Rezin with his division, marched into Edom, and took Elath, where he planted a colony of Syrians;† and having loaded his army with spoils, and taken a vast number of prisoners, he returned to Damascus‡. But this acquisition proved fatal to Rezin and his kingdom; for Ahaz, grown desperate, and bent upon revenge, sent an embassy to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, with a large present of all the gold and silver that he could find in the treasury of the temple, promising likewise to become his vassal and tributary, if he would assist him with his forces against his enemies. The king of Assyria readily embraced this opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, and accordingly marching with a great army against Rezin, he slew him in battle, besieged and took Damascus, and transplanted the people to Kir, a place in the upper Media; thereby

* Isaiah vii. 1—6. † 2 Kings xvi. 5. ‡ 2 Chron. xxiii. 5.

putting an end to the Syrian monarchy, which had continued for nine or ten generations*; according to the predictions of the prophets Isaiah and Amos†.

Thus Syria became united to the Assyrian empire; which being overthrown by the Medes and Persians, it was annexed to their dominions, and continued so till the famous battle of Issus in Cilicia between Darius and Alexander, wherein the latter gained a considerable victory. At the same time Parmenio, one of his generals, made himself master of Darius' treasure which was deposited at Damascus; and Alexander marching into Syria immediately after, most of the cities surrendered at the first approach of the conqueror; so that he soon got pos-

* The kingdom now put an end to was founded by Rezin in the reign of Solomon, as has been observed above; but as Damascus is a city of great antiquity, it probably had its kings before that time, though we have no mention of them in the sacred writings. The city is generally supposed to have been built by Uz the eldest son of Aram; but, be that as it will, we are certain it was in being in the time of Abraham, who reigned there according to some ancient historians, particularly Nicolaus Damascenus. We learn from Gen. xv. 2. that Eliezer, whom Abraham had made free and appointed steward of his house, was of Damascus, at the same time that the patriarch pursued Chedorlaomer and the confederated kings as far as Hobah, which lies Northward of that city. The scripture says nothing more of Damascus till the time of David.

† “Behold Damascus is taken away from being a city—
“and the kingdom shall cease from Damascus, and the remnant
“of Syria,” Isa. xvii. 1, 3. —“I will send a fire into the
“house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Benhadad.
“I will break also the bar of Damascus, and cut off—him
“that holdeth the sceptre from the house of Eden: and the people
“of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord,” Amos
i. 4, 5.

session of that country, and afterwards of Phœnicia, the city of Tyre being the only place where he met with any considerable opposition.

After the death of Alexander, his captains sharing his conquests, Seleucus Nicanor and his posterity were kings of Syria for about two hundred and fifty years, till Pompey reduced that kingdom into a Roman province. The government of Syria, after it came under the dominion of the Romans, was reckoned one of the greatest honours in the empire, the præfect or governor having almost a royal jurisdiction over all the provinces on this side the Euphrates, and a superintendency over Egypt. This emboldened Niger, præfect of Syria, to dispute the empire with Severus: and afterwards Cassius Syrus, a native of this country and governor of it, was almost too hard for Antoninus. Upon this occasion the senate decreed, that no man for the future should have command, civil or military, in the province where he was born, lest by the affections of the people he should be enabled to set up for himself, and throw off his subjection to the Roman power. The fear of this made Adrian propose to make Phœnicia a distinct province from Syria; and obliged Constantine not only to separate Phœnicia, but to divide Syria itself into four provinces, all subject however to the governor of the East, as this country was called by the Romans.

This præfect enjoyed much the same power and influence during the empire of Constantinople, at the declension whereof Syria was over-run by the Saracens, and afterwards conquered by Tangrolipix the Turk, who gave Aleppo and Damascus to two of his kinsmen of the Selzuccian family; and this

laid the foundation of the Turkish kingdom of Damascus, which began in the eleventh century, and continued about two hundred years. In the thirteenth century Halon the Tartar took the king of Damascus prisoner, and put him to death before the walls of the city, because the inhabitants would not surrender. He afterwards stormed the city, and put an end to the reign of that family in Syria, as the Mamalukes had done some years before in Egypt, by murdering their princes. They likewise subdued the kingdom of Damascus, and held that city till it was taken by Tamerlane in the year 1400 with a prodigious army. He put all the Mamalukes and their adherents to death, and is said to have built several towers with their skulls. However, after Tamerlane's decease, the Mamalukes recovered Syria and Egypt, and kept possession of Damascus till the year 1516, when Selimus I. defeated the sultan of Egypt in the neighbourhood of Aleppo; upon which Damascus surrendered to avoid being plundered by the Turkish army, as it was a place of great trade and riches: and ever since that time Syria, as well as Egypt, has continued under the Ottoman dominion.

On the 8th of March in the morning, having made a handsome present to the convent for our kind entertainment, we took leave of Damascus; and returning the same way we came, without any remarkable occurrence, we arrived at Tripoli on the 10th in the evening. The two following days were spent in making the necessary preparations for our journey to Sidon, and from thence to Jerusalem; and having put ourselves in a pretty good posture of travelling, we set out from Tripoli on the 13th at

two in the afternoon, keeping close by the sea, and in less than two hours we came to a small village called Callemone. Near this village is a convent of Greeks named Bell-Mount, founded by one of the Earls of Tripoli, standing upon a high rocky mountain, overlooking the sea, and of very difficult ascent. In three hours more we came to a lofty promontory, which lay directly cross our way, and terminated this day's journey; for it being too late to attempt to pass it, we took up our quarters in a narrow valley under some olive-trees, where we enjoyed an agreeable repose.

The next morning we had no small fatigue in passing the above-mentioned promontory, the road being very steep and rugged; but in somewhat more than an hour we mastered it, and arrived in the valley on the other side; the entrance whereof is commanded by a small fort or castle called Temsedia, built upon a perpendicular precipice. Not far from hence, close by the sea, is a little village called Patrone, supposed to be the ancient Botrus; but we did not step out of our road to view it, being told that it afforded nothing worthy our observation. In three hours more we arrived at Gibyle, the Byblus of the Greeks, a place once famous for the birth and temple of Adonis, but now of no great extent, and thinly inhabited. It is encompassed, however, with a dry ditch and a wall, with square towers in it at convenient distances; and on the South side it has an old castle to defend it. In the gardens round about the town we see many fragments of fine marble pillars, and heaps of ruins, by which it appears to have been a large and magnificent city. It is pleasantly situated by the sea-side, and is reckoned

a place of very great antiquity*. In one hour from Gibyle we came to a fine river, with a stone bridge over it, consisting only of one arch, but that very wide and lofty; and here we made our second encampment, pitching our tents upon the banks of the river.

The Turks have given this stream the name of Ibrahim, but it is generally supposed to be the ancient Adonis, so called from that favourite of Venus, who is said to have been killed by a wild boar in the mountains from whence it rises. The river, in the opinion of the ancient heathens, had a remarkable property of appearing bloody at certain seasons of the year, which they attributed to a kind of sympathy for the death of Adonis, in memory of whom they performed various superstitious rites, the women making great outcries, in imitation of the supposed lamentation of Venus for the loss of her paramour. This annual mourning was an universal custom of the women in these parts, which they began as soon as they perceived the river of a reddish colour; and after all possible expressions of the most piercing grief, having also disciplined themselves with whipping, they proceeded to their sacrifices. On the morrow, pretending that Adonis was come to life again, and had ascended through the air to the upper

* Mr. Maundrell supposes Gibyle to be the country of the Giblites, mentioned Joshua xiii. 5. whom king Hiram made use of in preparing materials for Solomon's temple. He founds his conjecture upon 1 Kings v. 18. where the word rendered stone-squarers is giblim in the Hebrew, which the Septuagint version makes to be the men of Byblus; and observes, that in Ezek. xxvii. 9. where our translation has it the ancients of Gebal, the LXX make it the elders of Byblus. Journey, &c. p. 24.

regions, they shaved their heads; and, at Byblus especially, those who would not comply were bound to prostitute themselves for one entire day to all strangers that would have them for hire, and the money so got was presented to the goddess Venus.

Some relate, that on a certain night while this solemnity lasted, they laid an image in a bed, and having gone through variety of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the priests anointing the mouths of the assistants, whispered to them that deliverance was come; whereupon their sorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as it were out of its sepulchre. Others say, that the priests of Osiris in Egypt wrote to the women of Byblus signifying to them, that they had found that deity; and the letter was sent, it seems, in an earthen vessel, or in a little box or chest made of the plant called Papyrus, which came by sea of its own accord to Byblus. It performed this voyage in seven days, and as soon as ever it appeared in port the women danced, feasted, and rejoiced, as extravagantly as they had mourned, wept, and lamented.—As to the redness of the river above mentioned, its true cause was known and declared even by some of the Ancients who were not so superstitious as the rest of their contemporaries; it being owing to a kind of minium, or red earth, which is sometimes washed into it by the violence of the rains; and in time of floods it is still subject to the same appearance.

On the 15th in the morning, having travelled about an hour beyond this river, we crossed the foot of the mountain Climax, through a rugged pass, which brought us to the bay of Junia. At the entrance of this bay is an old stone bridge, where we

come into the jurisdiction of the bashaw of Sidon. The mountains at the bottom of the bay are very high and steep, the road lying between them and the sea. They are called the mountains of Castravan, are inhabited chiefly by Maronites, and are famous for their excellent wine. Towards the farther side of the bay we passed by a square tower, or castle, of which there are several along this coast, said to have been built by the empress Helena to defend the country from pirates. At this tower we paid a caphar, which is collected by Maronites, who are not much behind the Turks in their insolence and exactions.

Soon after we got clear of this bay, we came to the river Lycus, sometimes called Canis, from an idol anciently worshipped here in form of a dog, and said to have given oracular responses. This river is confounded with Adonis by several of our modern geographers, but the mistake is evident from late observations, as well as the authority of the Ancients. The Lycus issues into the sea from between two mountains, excessively steep and rocky; one of which we ascend as soon as we have crossed the river, by a road about two yards broad, cut along the side of a rock a great height above the water, at the expence of the emperor Antoninus; the memory of which laborious but useful undertaking is perpetuated by an inscription near the entrance into the way, the greatest part whereof is still legible. In less than half an hour we passed this Antonine way, which brought us to a smooth sandy shore; and in two hours time we came to a large river called Beroot, which has over it a handsome stone-bridge of six arches. On the other side of the river, near the sea, is a large field, where our renowned champion St. George is

said to have slain the dragon; in memory of which exploit there was a small chapel built upon the place, at first dedicated to that Christian hero, but now changed into a Mahometan mosque. In another hour we arrived at Barût or Beroot, where we took up our quarters in a kan near the sea-side, and met with good accommodation.

This city was anciently called Berytus, and is perhaps little inferior to Byblus, in antiquity, as it is said to have been standing in the time of Cronus. It was greatly esteemed by Augustus, in whose reign it had many privileges conferred upon it, together with a new name, being then called Julia Felix; but it has nothing to boast of at present, except the advantages of its situation. It stands on the sea-side, in a delightful and fruitful country, and is supplied with fresh water by several rivulets that fall from the neighbouring hills, and are conveyed all over the city in agreeable fountains. The palace and gardens of the Emir Faccardine, neglected and ruinous as they are, are still one of the greatest ornaments of the city, and merit a brief description. This Faccardine, in the reign of sultan Morat, had his chief residence in Beroot, and was the fourth emir or prince of the Druses*, a people supposed to be de-

* “ As far as I could learn, says Dr. Shaw, the Druses and
 “ Surees (the latter of whom are perhaps descended from the
 “ Indigenæ or original Syrians) differ very little in their religion,
 “ which is a mixture of the Christian and Mahometan, the Gos-
 “ pels and the Koran being equally received as books of divine
 “ authority and inspiration. For, to omit what is commonly
 “ reported, of their being circumcised, worshipping the rising and
 “ setting sun, intermarrying with their nearest relations, and mak-
 “ ing their children pass through the fire, (as some of the Eastern
 “ nations did formerly to Moloch) we may be convinced, I pre-

scended from some scattered remains of the Christians that engaged in the crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land, who settled themselves in the adjacent mountains, where they have ever since maintained a kind of sovereign jurisdiction. But Faccardine, not wishing to be confined to his hilly dominions, had the power and artifice to extend them into the plains along the sea-coast from Beroot to Acra; till at last the Grand Signior, grown jealous of his rising authority, drove him back again to the mountains, where his posterity to this day retain their principality.

This prince's palace, which we went to take a view of, stands in the North-East part of the city, and has a beautiful marble fountain at its entrance. The inner parts of the building, which consists of several courts, are now running to decay, or else were never finished by their first master. The design of the whole, however, though not carried to perfection, is visibly grand, and not unworthy the quality of a prince in Europe, but its greatest beauty, and what best deserves our attention, is the orange-garden. It is a large quadrangular piece of ground, divided into sixteen squares, with walks between them, which are shaded with spreading orange-trees, that were gilded when we were there, with the finest fruit, and made as charming a sight as can possibly be imagined. Each of these sixteen squares had a stone border, wherein channels were so

“sume, from their indulging themselves in wine and swine’s
 “flesh, that they are not Mahometans: at the same time, the
 “names they are known by, of Hanna, Youseph, Meriam, (i. e.
 “John, Joseph, Mary, &c.) will not be sufficient arguments in fa-
 “vour of their being Christians.” Shaw’s Travels. p. 277.

contrived as to convey the water to every tree in the garden, little outlets being cut for part of the stream to vent itself as it passed along. Had an European gardener the cultivation of this spot of ground, nothing could be made more delightful, but the Turks, who in general are people of gross apprehensions, and have not a taste for refined pleasures, have turned this beautiful place into a sheep-fold. On the East side of the garden were two terrace-walks, rising one above another, each of which had an ascent of ten or twelve steps, were planted with several fine orange-trees to make shades in proper places, and led into summer-houses and other delightful apartments. All this elegance and regularity may well be wondered at in these parts of the world, the Turkish gardens being usually nothing else but a number of trees planted together in a confused manner, without walks, arbours, knots, or any appearance of art or design: but Faccardine had been in Italy, where he had seen gardens of another nature, which his excellent genius (for such his works speak him to have had) knew very well how to imitate in his own country.

At one corner of another garden, in which are several pedestals for statutes, is built a very strong tower about twenty yards in height, from whence we had a distinct view of the whole city. The principal object that strikes our sight is a large Turkish mosque, originally a Christian church, dedicated to St. John the evangelist; into which we could not gain admittance, and therefore contented ourselves with seeing it at this distance. The Greeks are still possessed of a church in this city, an ancient and decayed fabric, the inside whereof we had an opportunity

of viewing, and found it adorned with abundance of old pictures; amongst which there is one with a Greek inscription, signifying it to be that of Couartas, the first archbishop of Berytus. Not far from this is the figure of Nestorius, who is frequently painted in the Greek churches, though they disclaim his heresy, and acknowledge the council of Ephesus by which it was condemned. But the most remarkable picture of all is one of St. Nicephorus, drawn almost as big as the life, with a beard reaching down to his feet; of which saint the legends gives us the following account: that he was a person of eminent virtue and exemplary behaviour, but being almost destitute of a beard, his countenance did not appear with sufficient gravity, and command the respect which that venerable ornament generally engages. This gave the good man very great uneasiness, in-somuch that he fell into a deep melancholy; of which the devil taking the advantage, promised Nicephorus to supply the defect of nature, if he would hearken to his suggestions. The saint, though extremely desirous of the promised addition to his face, was determined not to purchased it at so dear a rate as by the least transgression of his duty; and therefore, rejecting the tempter's offer with indignation, and at the same time taking hold of the little tuft he had upon his chin, in token of the firmness of his resolution, his constancy was miraculously rewarded; for it is said he found the hair stretch upon the first pluck he gave it, and repeating what he had done with the same success he never desisted from pulling his beard, till he had drawn it down to his very feet. But enough of this ridiculous story.

The walls of Beroot, on the South side, are still

entire, but built out of the ruins of the ancient city, as appears from their being partly composed of pieces of old pillars and fragments of marble, on some of which we find scraps of Latin inscriptions. At a little distance without the wall are some remains of Mosaic pavements, several pillars of granite, pieces of polished marble, and other tokens of the former magnificence of the city.

Having staid one day at Beroot, we pursued our journey on the 17th in the morning, and in less than half an hour we came into a fine plain, extending from the sea to the mountains, at the entrance whereof is a beautiful grove of pine-trees, planted by the afore-mentioned Faccardine*; and on our left we saw a village at a little distance inhabited by the Druses, who possess a long tract of mountains upon this coast. After travelling two hours from this grove, we were obliged to pay another caphar; from which place we soon arrived at the river Damer, the ancient Tamyras, a stream that swells to a great height upon sudden rains, and running with great

* Mr. Maundrell tells us of an odd custom of the princes of this family, which seems to deserve our notice. " Their present
" prince (says he, speaking of the Druses in the year 1697) is
" Achmet, grandson to Faccardine, an old man, and one who
" keeps up the custom of his ancestors, of turning day into night;
" an hereditary practice in his family proceeding from a tradi-
" tional persuasion amongst them, that princes can never sleep
" securely but by day, when men's actions and designs are best
" observed by their guards, and, if need be, most easily prevented;
" but that in the night it concerns them to be always vigilant, lest
" the darkness, aided by their sleeping, should give traitors both
" opportunity and encouragement to assault their persons, and, by
" a dagger or a pistol, to make them continue their sleep longer
" than they intended when they lay down." Journey, &c. p. 43.

rapidity is very dangerous to passengers*; however, its water being pretty low when we were there, we forded it without much difficulty.

Being got over this river, we travelled along a narrow rugged way between the sea and the mountains, which hereabouts are but a small distance from each other, till we came to another considerable stream, with a good stone bridge over it, consisting of seven arches. From hence in one hour's time we arrived at Sidon, and were conducted by our fellow-traveller M. du Marias to the residence of the French consul, to whom he brought letters from Smyrna, and who received us with all imaginable civility, as did also the rest of the gentlemen of that nation, whose factory here I have already had occasion to mention. As we came to Sidon several days before the council was ready to set out for Jerusalem, we had an opportunity of being more particular in our observations and enquiries concerning this ancient city, whereof I now proceed to give an account.

Sidon, now called Sayde or Seyde, may properly enough be termed the metropolis of Phœnice, as it seems to be the oldest city in this part of the country, borrowing its name, according to Josephus†, from its founder Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan‡; though other writers do not admit of this derivation||. The

* As M. Spon, nephew to Dr. Spon, was returning from Jerusalem in company with some English gentlemen, about the year 1693, he was unfortunately hurried down by this stream, and perished in the sea, which lies a furlong longer than the passage. Maundrell, *ibid.*

† Antiquities, Book I. c. 5.

‡ Gen. x. 15.

|| Trogus derives the name from a word signifying a fish; and Bochart is of the same opinion, for Seid, the present name of the city, may be rendered a fishing-place. The last mentioned learn.

town is still populous, but has lost much of its former splendor, as well as extent; which is sufficiently manifest from the many beautiful pillars, and other vestiges of its ancient grandeur, that lie scattered up and down the gardens, without the walls of the present city. These walls are of a considerable thickness, but ruinous in many places; and on the South-side of the town stands an old castle on a hill, said to have been built by Lewis the IXth of France, surnamed the Saint, and another, in a better condition, on a rock in the sea, having a communication with the land by a bridge of ten or twelve arches.

The French merchants are all quartered together in a large kan close by the sea, fronting which is an old mole that formerly secured the port, but has been demolished and rendered useless by the emir Faccardine when he was master of this place, in order to free himself from the visits of the Turkish gallies, or at least oblige them to hasten their departure on account of the danger and incommodiousness of the harbour; so that the shipping lying at anchor have no other shelter at present but a small ledge of rocks about a mile distant from the shore on the North-side of the city. It is nevertheless a place of considerable trade, exporting oil, ashes, soap, raisins of Damascus, rice, glue, Turkey leather, and abundance of silk, which is its chief commodity.

ed man seems to doubt whether or no Canaan's eldest son was called Sidon, as we read in the place of scripture just referred to, where he interprets the word as he meant of the city itself, and used instead of the name of the father of the Sidonians, or the founder of that city, whatever his name was; but why the name of the eldest son should be passed over, and the rest specified, is not easy to conceive.——Others again will have Sidon to be derived from Sida, the daughter of Belus, as they pretend.

The neighbouring country is full of mulberry-trees, underneath which they preserve their silk-worms in little huts, where they thrive very well, unless they are hurt by violent claps of thunder. From the European nations they take satins, damasks, cloths of light colours, and paper.

This city is the seat of a Turkish bashaw, who resides in an unfinished palace built by the emir Facardine. The usual garrison of the place consists of four or five hundred men who are partly in the town, and partly in the castles. The greatest part of the inhabitants are Turks, who have fourteen or fifteen mosques here; but the Latins and Greeks have each of them a church, the Maronites a chapel, and the Jews a synagogue. All manner of provisions are cheap here, and the country full of game, especially hares, partridges, &c. which multiply surprisingly, the people in these parts not taking much delight either in fowling or hunting.

As to the antiquities of Sidon, they are most of them obscured and buried by the Turkish buildings; but some Latin inscriptions are to be found in the neighbouring fields and gardens. They pretend, indeed, to shew a monument of very high antiquity, no less than the tomb of Zebulon, which stands in a small chapel in a garden, and is held in great veneration by the Jews. The tomb consists only of two stones, the one supposed to be at the head, the other at the feet of the deceased. Their distance is about ten feet, which, therefore, according to this tradition, must have been the stature of that patriarch.

If we consider the ancient Sidonians in particular, or rather the Phœnicians in general, we shall find them making a considerable figure both in sacred and pro-

fane history. Much is said of their arts, sciences, and manufactures; and they had certainly a very happy genius and frame of mind capable of any undertaking. Arithmetic and astronomy either took rise among them, or were brought by them to great perfection, and applied to the affairs of trade and navigation, and architecture. From them those excellent sciences flowed into Greece, together with their letters, which they had from Cadmus * the son of Agenor. They were very early addicted to philosophical exercises of the mind, insomuch that Moschus, a Sidonian, taught the doctrine of atoms before the Trojan war; from whom it was probably learnt by Leucippus and Democritus, but was afterwards most cultivated and improved by Epicurus. Phœnicia long continued to be one of the seats of learning, and both Tyre and Sidon have produced their philosophers of latter ages.

But how famed soever they were for the sciences,

* Some pretend that these characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who are ready to ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury (whom very many authors take to be Moses) the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned however agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were Hebraic; the Hebrews, as a small nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius, proves, that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried but sixteen letters into Greece; four being added by Palmedes at the siege of Troy, above two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus; and four more by Simonides a long time after.

and for their discoveries and improvement in the learned way, it is probable they excelled yet more in their mechanical skill than in the labours of the brain. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were of their own produce, their staple manufactures, and said to have been their own inventions. And as to their extraordinary ingenuity in the working of metals*, stone, or timber, and their perfect knowledge of what was great and ornamental in architecture, there needs no other proof of it than the large share they had in erecting and decorating the temple at Jerusalem; than which nothing is more known, nor can more redound to their honour. In a word, they had such a reputation for their just taste, fine design, and luxuriant invention, that Sidonian workmanship or contrivance became proverbial, to express whatever was elegant, noble, or pleasing, whether in building, apparel, vessels, toys, or other curiosities.

Nor do the Phœnicians deserve our consideration only as learned men or artificers, improving themselves and cultivating their minds sedately at home; but it raises our admiration to view them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endless colonies abroad. As merchants, they may be said at least to

* Homer takes notice of the skill of the Sidonians in this particular; for amongst the prizes in the games exhibited at the funeral of Patroclus, (which are described at large in the twenty-third book of the Iliad) we find one that was beautifully wrought by those curious artificers. This was, according to Mr. Pope's translation of the passage,

A silver urn that full six measures held,
By none in weight or workmanship excell'd:
Sidonian artists taught the frame to shine,
Elaborate, with artifice divine.

have engrossed all the commerce of the Western world. As navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and the greatest discoverers of ancient times; nor had they any rivals for many ages. And as planters of colonies, they sent out such numbers, that when we consider the small extent of their country, which was probably little more than the narrow tract of ground between Mount Libanus and the sea, it is surprising how they could spare such supplies of people, without leaving their native seat almost destitute of inhabitants.

With respect to the trade of the Phœnicians, it is probable they took the first hints of it from their neighbours the Syrians, though this will not be allowed by some writers. Be that as it will, having convenient harbours upon their coast, and excellent materials for ship-building upon their mountains, they bent their thoughts very early to the advancement of navigation and commerce; and, by an extraordinary application thereto, they soon eclipsed all the neighbouring nations, and came at length to be considered as the first of the earth for riches and splendor, if not for power. They traded by sea to all the known parts they could reach; to the British isles, commonly understood by the Cassiterides; to Spain, and other places in the ocean, both to the North and South of the Strait's mouth: and in general to the ports of the Mediterranean; the Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis; in all which parts they had settlements and correspondence, and drew from thence what was useful to themselves, or might be so to others reciprocally. As for their trade by land into Syria, and by way of that country, into Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Arabia, and even the

Indies; this may furnish us with some adequate idea of what the Phœnicians once were, and of their ancient splendour and opulence, when their country was the great magazine where every thing might be had that either administered to the necessities or the luxury of mankind, and which they undoubtedly knew how to distribute to the very best advantage.

Now I am speaking of the navigation of the Phœnicians, I might expatiate on their voyages in the service of Solomon; but for fear of being tedious, I shall only mention that memorable one which Necho king of Egypt engaged them to perform, and which they accomplished with wonderful success. That prince having taken into his service some of the most skilful Phœnician mariners, sent them out by the Red Sea through the straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa; and these men having sailed quite round that part of the world, returned to Egypt, the third year after their setting out, by the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean, which was a surprising voyage to be made in those days, when they had not the assistance of the compass. This was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, (by discovering the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497) found out the very same way, to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean *.

* Hence it appears, that the Portuguese were only re-discoverers of the Cape of Good Hope. And here it may not be amiss to take some notice of an opinion maintained by a celebrated author, that the Phœnicians made it a common practice to trade with India by the way of the said Cape, even from the time of Solomon. This seems incredible in the first place, because the Phœnicians had no such temptation as we have to undertake so long

As to the government of Phœnicia in ancient times, it was divided, like other countries, into several small kingdoms; for besides the kings of Sidon and Tyre, mentioned in scripture, we read in history of Elbasus king of Berytus, of Erylus king of Byblus, and several others, whose dominions were confined within the narrow limits of one city and its territory. Of all the Phœnician kings, those of Sidon, Tyre, and Arad, seem to have been the most powerful and wealthy, and make the best figure in history; but their successions, and the years of their respective reigns, are so perplexed and obscured, and interrupted with so many chasms, that no tolerable account of them can easily be given. Nor is it my design to enter into this darkness, but to confine myself at present to some few remarkable particulars in

and dangerous a voyage, and which to them must have been much longer than it is to us at present. Nor can we suppose that the structure and rigging of their ships were adapted to so troublesome a navigation; or that they could furnish themselves with a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and at the same time have room for any considerable cargo. Considering therefore these disadvantages, no doubt but they could be supplied with the Eastern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the Egyptians and Edomites on the Arabian gulph, and from Syria by the Euphrates; and this certainly was a part of the trade they drove with Syria and Egypt. Add to this, that if the contrary practice had been usual, it cannot be imagined that all memory of it would have been lost; that the Romans in Ovid's time would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that Herodotus would have reckoned as one of the noblest transactions of Necho's reign, his employing the Phœnicians in the above-mentioned voyage round Africa. In short, the Indian commerce by the Cape of Good Hope could answer no manner of end to the Phœnicians nor could they have any temptation to carry it on, situated as they were between Egypt and Syria, the two great magazines of whatever the East afforded.

the history of Sidon, which seem chiefly to be depended upon; rejecting the accounts of the ancient Greek writers, which are interwoven with a thousand fables.

It has been already observed, that Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, was, according to Josephus, the founder, and probably the first king of this city, at least the father of the people: but as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are quite in the dark; nor are we better acquainted with those of his successors, for though the Sidonians are mentioned in the histories of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, yet we find no express mention made of their kings in the sacred writings, till the time of the prophet Jeremiah, who speaks of messengers sent by several kings, and amongst the rest by that of Sidon, to Zedekiah king of Judah*.

The next king of Sidon, of whom we have any account in history, is Tetramnestus, who assisted Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece, with three hundred gallies, and is reckoned by Herodotus among the chief commanders of the Persian navy.

In the reign of Tennes, who is the next that appears, (though it is uncertain whom he succeeded) the Sidonians, and other Phœnicians, not being able to bear the insolence and tyranny of those whom Ochus king of Persia had set over them, rose up in arms, with an intent to shake off the Persian yoke. This revolt happened very opportunely for Nectanebus king of Egypt, against whom the Persians were then making vast preparations in order to recover that country, which they could not well approach but by marching through Phœnicia. To encourage

* Jer. xxvii. 3.

the Phœnicians therefore to stand it out, Nectanebus sent a body of four thousand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Mentor the Rhodian, to their assistance, hoping thereby to make Phœnicia a kind of barrier to Egypt, and keep the war out of his dominions. Hereupon Tennes king of Sidon, (at that time the most wealthy city of Phœnicia) having fitted out a powerful fleet with great expedition, and raised a considerable army, took the field; and, being strengthened by the Greek auxiliaries, engaged and routed the governors of Syria and Cilicia, whom Ochus had sent against him, and drove the Persians quite out of Phœnicia.

The Sidonians, on their first taking up arms, had laid waste a delightful garden belonging to the kings of Persia; had seized and burnt all the forage which the Persian governor had laid up for the subsistence of his cavalry; and what is still worse, had used with great severity such of the Persians that fell into their hands. These proceedings of the Sidonians, and more especially the news of the above-mentioned defeat of the Persian troops, enraged Ochus to such a degree that he breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total destruction not only to the city of Sidon, but to the inhabitants of Phœnicia in general. With this view he drew together an army of three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse, and, having mustered them at Babylon, marched at the head of them into Phœnicia. Mentor, who was then in Sidon, being terrified at the approach of so powerful an army, sent privately a trusty messenger to the king of Persia, offering not only to deliver that city into his hands, but to assist him in the reducing of Egypt, where he was capable of doing him

great service, as being well acquainted with the country. Ochus gladly accepted the proposal, sparing no promises to engage Mentor in his interest; who, having received such assurances from the king of Persia as he desired, found means to draw Tennes king of Sidon into the same treacherous design of surrendering up the city.

In the mean time the Sidonians, not mistrusting Mentor, and much less their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence; the city being well fortified, furnished with arms and provisions for a long siege, and garrisoned by a brave body of well-disciplined Sidonians, besides the Greek auxiliaries. But all was to no purpose; for Tennes, as soon as the Persian army drew near, feigning to go to a general assembly of the Phœnicians, marched out with a body of five hundred men; and taking along with him a hundred of the chief citizens to be created senators, as he pretended, went directly to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to Ochus, who caused all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. Upon this news the Sidonians were struck with so much terror, that five hundred more of the principal citizens left the town, to throw themselves at Ochus's feet, and implore his mercy, bringing olive-branches in their hands as tokens of their submission. When they came to the camp, Ochus asked Tennes whether it was in his power to put him in possession of the city; for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the Sidonians, in hopes that such an instance of severity would induce the rest of the Phœnicians to submit without opposition. Tennes having assured Ochus that he could deliver the city

into his hands whenever he pleased, the Persian monarch barbarously caused the five hundred citizens, of whose service he found he had no occasion, to be put to death upon the spot; after which execution Ochus and Tennes marched at the head of the Persian army towards Sidon, where they were admitted, without the least resistance, by Mentor and the Greek mercenaries, to whom Tennes, when he left the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that purpose.

The Sidonians, upon the approach of Ochus's army, had designedly burnt all their ships, in order to lay the people under a necessity of making a brave defence, by removing all hopes of any other security. When therefore they saw themselves thus betrayed, the enemy within their walls, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in this desperate condition they shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives and children and their most valuable effects; and then set them on fire; chusing thus to accomplish their own destruction, rather than fall into the hands of a merciless enemy. Forty thousand men, besides women and children, perished in the flames; nor did Tennes meet with a better fate than his subjects; for Ochus, detesting his treachery, and seeing he could do him no farther service, caused him to be put to death; vengeance thus justly overtaking him for the ruin he had brought upon his country.

At the time of this calamity, Sidon, as has been already observed, was in a flourishing and opulent condition, insomuch that a vast quantity of gold and silver was melted down by the flames, and found in the ashes, which Ochus is said to have sold for a great sum of money. The dreadful ruin of Sidon

struck such a terror into the other cities of Phœnicia, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, and obtained better terms than they had reason to expect; Ochus making no great difficulty in complying with their requests, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution his projects against Egypt. Thus the several prophecies concerning the destruction of Sidon were fulfilled *, and all Phœnicia was again brought under the Persian dominion.

The successor of Tennes was Strato; for we must observe that the Sidonians were not totally destroyed by the conflagration, many of them being absent about their traffic and other occasions; who, coming home again after Ochus's return into Persia, applied themselves with great diligence to rebuild their city, and ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the Persian name. It is no wonder, therefore, that a few years afterwards they so readily submitted to Alexander the Great, embracing greedily the opportunity of throwing off the yoke under which they laboured; for the Sidonians are said to have been the first in those parts, who sent deputies to make their submission to that prince as he marched through Phœnicia; which step their king Strato was not able to prevent, though he opposed the resolution, and declared in favour of Darius. On account of his attachment to the Persian interest, Alexander deprived Strato of his throne, and gave Hephæstion power to elect whomsoever of the Sidonians he thought most worthy of so exalted a station.

This Hephæstion was a great favourite of Alexander's, and being quartered at the house of two brothers in Sidon, who were young, and one of the

* Isa. xxiii. Jer. xlvii. Ezek. xxviii. and xxxii. Zech. ix.

most considerable families in the city, he offered them the crown, as a pledge, we may suppose, of his friendship, and an acknowledgement of the favours he had received. The two brothers returned their generous guest a thousand thanks, but at the same time earnestly begged he would excuse them from assuming a dignity to which they had no title, and which, according to the laws of their country, they could not accept of, being not of the royal family. Hephæstion was not a little surprised at this answer, admiring such a greatness of soul, as could despise what others strive to obtain by fire and sword, and all manner of injustice and wickedness; but finding the young citizens to be in earnest, he desired they would name some one of the royal race, whom they judged most deserving of the throne of Sidon. The brothers, wisely overlooking those whom they had observed ambitiously aspiring to this high station, and paying a servile court to Alexander's favourites, in order to obtain it, declared that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem, than one Abdalonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal line, and a man of an unblemished character, but so poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obscure condition, and to maintain himself by his daily labour.

His poverty and mean condition were no objection to him with Hephæstion, who immediately engaged the brothers to carry him the royal robes, and the tidings of his advancement to the throne. Accordingly they went, and found the good man all in rags, working in a garden as a common labourer, when they acquainted him with his promotion, and one of them addressed him in the following manner.

‘ You must now change your tatters for the dress
‘ I have brought you. Put off the mean and con-
‘ temptible habit in which you have grown old. As-
‘ sume the sentiments of a prince; but persevere in
‘ that virtue which made you worthy of an exalted
‘ station: and when you are seated on the throne,
‘ and thereby become the supreme dispenser of life
‘ and death to all your subjects, be sure never to for-
‘ get the low condition from which you were raised,
‘ and to which indeed, in a great measure, you owe
‘ your election*.’ Abdalonymus was quite astonish-
ed, and, unable to guess the meaning of this unex-
pected salutation, was ready to look upon the whole
as a dream, or nothing else but banter and ridicule:
but the messengers would admit of no denial, and
even took upon themselves the trouble of washing
him, threw over his shoulders a purple robe richly
embroidered with gold, and then, after repeated
oaths and protestations of their being in earnest, con-
ducted him to Hephæstion; who, having received
him with all the marks of distinction due to his
character, caused him to be proclaimed king of Sidon,
amidst the joyful shout of the people, who were ex-
tremely pleased with this election; though some of
the rich ones, considering Abdalonymus’s former ab-
ject state, could not forbear shewing their resent-
ment upon this occasion.

Part of the discourse which passed between Alex-

* Assume the sentiments of a prince, &c. The words of
Quintus Curtius are these: “ Cape regis animum, et in eam for-
“ tunam, quâ dignus es, istam continentiam profer: et, cum in
“ regali solio residebis, vitæ necisque omnium civium dominus,
“ cave obliviscaris hujus statûs in quo accipis regnum, imò herculè
“ propter quem.”

ander and this newly-elected prince at their first interview is very remarkable and instructive. The Macedonian monarch, having surveyed Abdalonymus a long time with great attention, at last spoke to this effect, ‘Thy air and mein do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty.’——‘Would to God (replied the Sidonian) that I may bear my crown with the same patience and evenness of mind. These hands have procured me all I have desired; and while I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing*.’ This answer gave Alexander a high idea of Abdalonymus’s virtue; so that he not only made him a present of all the rich moveables which belonged to Strato, and part of the plunder taken from the Persians, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions. All that we know of Abdalonymus’s reign is, that to the last he proved faithful to the Macedonians, to whom he was indebted for his kingdom†.

From this time we find no farther mention of the kings of Sidon; nor need we continue the Phœnician

* “Corporis (inquit) habitus famæ generis non repugnat: sed libet scire, inopiam quâ patientiâ tuleris. Tum ille: utinam (inquit) eodem animo regnum pati possim! Hæ manus suffere disiderio meo: nihil habenti, nihil defuit.” Q. Curt. Here we may observe, that the expression *regnum pati*, to bear the weight of a kingdom, is extremely just and beautiful, considering the regal power as a burden, more difficult to be borne than poverty itself.

† Didorus Siculus calls this prince Ballonymus, and makes both him and his predecessor Strato kings of Tyre. Plutarch names him Alonymus, and makes him king of Paphos. But in this particular the current of writers is against them, who place both Strato and Abdalonymus among the kings of Sidon.

history any longer, having been so particular in that of Syria; since these countries generally shared each other's fate, and changed masters at the same time, being successively subject to the successors of Alexander, the Romans, and Eastern emperors, till they were over-run by the Saracens, Mamalukes, and Turks, under whose yoke they still remain.

The French consul having prepared every thing necessary for his journey, we set out from Sidon on the 22d in the morning, and travelling along a very fruitful plain, we passed in sight of a large village on the side of the mountains, the name of which I do not now remember. In less than three hours from this place, we came to Sarphan, supposed to be the ancient Sarepta, or Zarephath, as it is called in scripture*, famous for the residence and miracles of the prophet Elijah, who there restored the widow's son to life. At present there are only a few houses on the tops of the hills, about half a mile from the sea; but it is probable that the old city stood nearer the shore, at the foot of the mountains, where considerable ruins are still to be discerned. Three hours more brought us to the river Casimeer, which some of our modern geographers have mistaken for the old Eleutherus; thereby contradicting the universal testimony of the Ancients, who place that river much more Northward. Having passed it over a crazy bridge, we arrived at Tyre in an hour's time, which makes a grand appearance at a distance, but when we approach it there is little else to be found but ruins. However, being unwilling to pass by this once famous city without taking some notice of its present state and situation, we took up our quarters in its neighbourhood.

* 1 Kings xvii. 9, 10.

Tyre, anciently called Sor, and now Sur, stands on a peninsula, and is so much fallen from its former magnificence, that there are few houses left in the place, and scarce one of them entire. On the North side of it, indeed, there is an old Turkish castle without any garrison; but, if we except this one structure, the whole exhibits nothing but a melancholy scene of ruin and desolation, consisting of decayed and broken walls, fragments of pillars, pieces of antique marble, and great heaps of rubbish. The East end of a great church is yet standing, which is conjectured to have been the cathedral of Tyre in the Christian times, when this city was an archbishop's see. The Isthmus, which joins the island to the continent, is covered with sand; but in some parts of it there seem to be the foundations of ancient buildings; and one may still discern those of the wall with which the island was formerly encompassed. The inhabitants of this place are a few poor fishermen*, who shelter themselves in vaults and caves, and the ruinous houses that are yet remaining.

To avoid mistakes and confusion in speaking of Tyre, it is proper to observe, that it may be distinguished into three different cities with respect to order of time, namely Palæ-Tyrus (*i. e.* Old Tyre) or Tyre on the continent, Tyre on the island, and Tyre on the peninsula, after the island was joined to the main land by Alexander the Great. Palæ-Tyrus was probably of much greater extent than the new city

* They seem to have been preserved here, as Mr. Maundrell observes, by divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. That it should "be like the top of a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets upon." Ezek. xxvi. 14.

built on the island, which at this day appears to be small, not containing above forty acres of ground. It is certain that this famous mart was never large, not being able to extend its walls farther than the margin of the island; and it was doubtless the want of ground that induced them to build their houses so high as they did, for otherwise they would not have taken that method for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with destruction. The buildings of the city in general were lofty and magnificent and above the rest appeared the temples erected by Hiram to Jupiter, Hercules, and Astarte. Its walls, which were washed by the sea, were a hundred and fifty feet high, broad in proportion, and strongly built of large blocks of stone, very firmly cemented together.

The two havens of Tyre, the one called Open, and the other Close, were formed by the Isthmus that joins the island to the continent. The former looked towards Egypt, and was accordingly called the Egyptian port; and the other was on the North-side towards Sidon. These ports are still pretty large, and defended in some measure from the sea by a mole running out directly from each side of the island; but though the Turkish gallies could formerly lie here, it is said they are only capable of receiving small fishing-boats at present, having been stopped up by the emir Faccardine, as well as that of Sidon, for political reasons.

Nothing in this ruined city or its neighbourhood deserves our attention more than a place which the Turks call Roselayne, remarkable for an ancient piece of work called Solomon's wells or cisterns. The current tradition concerning them is, that they are filled

from a subterraneous river, which that wise king discovered by his great sagacity; and that he caused these cisterns to be made as part of his recompence to king Hiram, for the materials furnished by that prince towards building the temple. But though they are undoubtedly of great antiquity, yet they are certainly of a latter date than the time of Solomon; for it is reasonable to suppose, that the aqueduct, which conveyed water from hence to Tyre, is as old as the cisterns; and the aqueduct must have been made since the time of Alexander, being carried over the Isthmus formed by that conqueror when he made himself master of Tyre.

Of these cisterns there are three that remain entire to this day, one of them about a quarter of a mile distant from the sea, the other two somewhat farther. The first is of an octagonal figure, twenty yards in diameter, and is elevated nine yards above the ground on the South-side, but only six on the North. Most of the country people tell you, that nobody could ever reach the bottom of these wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of lines; and a celebrated traveller pretends to give a reason for the fruitlessness of these attempts, by supposing the current or spring to be so very strong at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from taking the ground: but this opinion of their being unfathomable has often been confuted by experience. The wall of this cistern (if I may call it so) is only gravel and pebbles, but so firmly consolidated with a strong cement, that it seems to be one entire rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, near three yards broad; from whence, descending by one step on the South-side, and by two on the North, you land on another walk

seven yards broad. But what seems most surprising is, that though this structure is so broad at top, it is hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks, and it requires a longer rod than we could find to reach the extremity of the cavity. This curious cistern contains a vast quantity of excellent water, with which it is so plentifully supplied, that it is always full, and a stream runs from it that drives four mills at a little distance. The Turks have made this outlet for the sake of grinding their corn, and stopped up the old one on the opposite side of the cistern, from whence the water formerly issued into the above-mentioned aqueduct, which is raised about six yards from the ground, and has a channel one yard wide.

This aqueduct is carried Eastward above a hundred yards, and then approaches the two other cisterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the one twelve yards square, the other twenty. In each of these is a little channel, through which their waters formerly passed into the aqueduct; and thus the united streams of the three cisterns were conveyed together to Tyre, and dispersed over that city. Though the aqueduct, which was built upon arches, as such works generally were, is now gone to decay, yet one may easily trace it out by what remains of it in several places. It runs Northward for about two miles, and then turning to the West, proceeds over the Isthmus into the city, as before mentioned.

What I have already said concerning the trade and navigation of the ancient Phœnicians in general, makes it unnecessary to enlarge on that of the Tyrians in particular; though some few remarks may not impertinently be added upon that subject. Tyre,

which is called in scripture the Daughter of Sidon*, as being undoubtedly a colony of the Sidonians†, at length surpassed its mother city in magnificence, power, and riches. Its industry and advantageous situation raised it to the sovereignty of the seas, and made it the center of all the trade in the universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia, and India, to the most remote Western coasts; from Scythia and the Northern regions, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Southern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its wealth and splendor. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various parts of the world produced, but whatever they had of a rare, curious, or precious kind, and best adapted to the support of pride and luxury, all these were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other hand, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, thereby enriching herself to such a degree, that her merchants were equal to princes‡, and at the same time infecting mankind with her corrupt manners, by inspiring them with a love of ease, vanity and voluptuousness. But to give the reader an adequate idea of the extensive commerce, the magnificence, power, opulence, and also the pride, luxury, and other vices of Tyre, which brought on her destruction, I need only refer him to the twenty-sixth,

* Isaiah xxiii. 12.

† Justin tells us in express terms, that the city of Tyre was built before the taking of Troy, by the Sidonians, who, being driven out of their own country, by the king of the Ascalonians, were forced to seek new seats.

‡ The scripture makes mention of Tyre as a city “whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth,” Isaiah xxiii. 8.

twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth chapters of the prophet Ezekiel.

It would be vain and unnecessary to undertake a detail of the various commodities brought from distant nations to this famous emporium, or of what the Tyrians exported to other countries. Their own territory being but small, it cannot be supposed they could send much of its produce abroad; and perhaps rather wanted than abounded with the fruits of the earth. It is therefore probable that their exports consisted chiefly of their own manufactures, and such merchandise as they had before imported, by the way of the Red Sea, from Persia, India, Africa, and Arabia, with which they furnished all the Western parts of the world.

Now I am speaking of the trade of Tyre, I must not forget one of its principal commodities, I mean its purple, which brought so much honour as well as treasure to that city. That rich tincture, universally celebrated amongst the Ancients *, was extracted from a testaceous sea-fish found upon the Tyrian coast, which hath been unknown there † for many

* Frequent mention is made of it by the poets and other ancient writers. Thus Virgil speaking of a robe presented to Æneas by Dido, tells us,

——“Tyrioque ardebat murice læna.” *Æneid.* IV. 262.

His costly robe with Tyrian purple shone.

And Horace speaks of what the Ancients called “*dibapha purpura*,” that is double-dyed, dyed in grain:

“Muricibus Tyriis iteratæ vellera lanæ.” *Epod.* XIII. 21.

A garment twice imbrued with Tyrian dye.

† If the fish is not to be found, Dr. Shaw however assures us, that among a variety of other shells, the *Purpura* of Rondelerius is very common upon the Tyrian shore. Several of those which the Doctor saw had their insides beautified with purplish streaks; which circumstance he thinks may so far instruct us that they once belonged to such an inhabitant.

ages. This fish is indifferently called Murex, Conchylum, or Purpura; and the discovery of its tinging quality is said to have been taken from a dog, which having caught one of them among the rocks, and eaten it up, stained his mouth and beard with the precious liquor; which struck the fancy of a Tyrian nymph so strongly, that she refused her lover Hercules any favours till he had brought her a mantle of the same colour. A shell-fish is found in the American seas, which much resembles the ancient Purpura, and is perhaps the very same*; but if we have lost the old purple, the perfection to which the moderns have carried the other colours makes them ample amends for the loss.

* This fish is found in great abundance in the seas of the Spanish West-Indies near Panama and Nicoya, and may be reckoned the chief riches of the latter city. They are taken in the spring; and constantly disappear a little before the dog-days. On being rubbed one against another, they yield a kind of saliva or thick glair, resembling soft wax; but the purple dye is in the throat of the fish, and the finest part in a little white vein; which is so agreeable to Pliny's account of the ancient Murex, that one can hardly doubt its being the same species. Cloth of Segovia, dyed with this purple, is sold for twenty crowns an ell, and is scarce worn by any but the greatest noblemen in Spain.—The Caribee islands have likewise their purple fish; which is called Burgan, being of the size of the end of one's finger, and resembling our Periwinkles. Its shell is of a brownish azure, its flesh white, its intestines of a very bright red, the colour whereof appears through the body; and it is this that dyes the froth which it casts when taken, and which is at first of a violet hue, bordering upon blue. To oblige them to yield the greater quantity of froth, they lay them on a plate, and shake and beat them one against another; upon which the plate is immediately covered with the froth, which is received on a linen-cloth, and becomes purple in proportion as it dries. But besides the Indian purple fishes, we have others much nearer home, even on the coasts of Somersetshire, South Wales, &c. where they were discov-

The Tyrians were not only famous for their purple, but the honour of the invention of dying is attributed to them; and indeed, till the time of Alexander, we find hardly any other sort of dye used but purple and scarlet. It was under the successors of that monarch, that the Greeks applied themselves to the other colours, and invented, or at least perfected blue, yellow, green, &c. but in this art the Ancients have been far outdone by the moderns. However, if Tyre had the honour and benefit of this invention, she suffered by it in the end; for, according to M. Huet, the dissoluteness of that city was very much owing to the great numbers of dyers there; from whence we may infer, that they were a rich as well as numerous body of people, proud, extravagant, vain, and debauched.

ered in 1686 by Mr. W. Cole; an account whereof may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions.—M. Reaumur observes, that this fish is a kind of Buccinum, a name given by the ancients to all fishes whose shell bears any resemblance to a hunting horn. The method of obtaining the tincture, according to the same writer, is this: The shell which is very hard, being broken, (with the mouth downwards, so as not to crush the body) and the broken pieces being picked off, there appears a white vein lying tranverse-ly in a little furrow or cleft next the head of the fish. In this vein the purple matter is lodged; which being laid on linen, appears at first of a light green colour, and if exposed to the sun soon changes into a deep green, in a few minutes into a sea-green, and in a few more into a blue; then it becomes of a purplish red, and in an hour of a more deep purple. Here the sun's action terminates; but by washing in scalding water and soap, and drying it, the colour ripens to a most beautiful crimson, which will bear washing admirably without any styptick, the fish, he observes, is good food: and adds, that there are several kinds differing in size and shell, and also in the colour of the tinging liquor. There are some found on the coasts of Poictou.

According to Josephus, the city of Tyre was founded two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem; but we know little of its history till the time of Abibal with whom Josephus and Theophilus Antiochenus begins the series of Tyrian kings, which they have furnished us with from Dius and Menander the Ephesian. Dius, who was a Phœnician by birth, wrote the history of Tyre, which he extracted from the public records that were carefully preserved in that city: and Menander compiled the lives and actions of princes, both Greek and Barbarian, from the like authorities.

This Abibal, or Abeimal, as he called by Theophilus, we have little knowledge of, except that he was cotemporary with David, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations against him, since David counts the inhabitants of Tyre among his enemies*. However that be, his son Hiram,† who succeeded him, maintained a strict friendship with David all his life-time, to whom he sent ambassadors, to congratulate him perhaps upon his victory over the Jebusites, whom he had driven from the strong hold of Zion, and concluded an alliance with him. He made David a present of cedar-trees, and sent skilful workmen to build him a palace in Jerusalem‡. The expression in scripture, that Hiram was ever a lover of David,|| implies that he was a sincere friend, as well as a faithful ally: and upon the death of that

* Psalm lxxxi. 7.

† This prince is sometimes called Hieromus, and sometimes Hieromenus, by Theophilus; Hiram and Irom by Josephus; and Chiramus by Tatian and Zonaras.

‡ 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chron. xiv. 1. || 1 Kings v. 1.

prince, and Solomon's succeeding to the throne, the affection that Hiram had constantly maintained for the father, prompted him to send a gratulatory embassy to the son, expressing great joy to see the government continued in the same family. Upon the return of these ambassadors, Solomon took the opportunity of writing a letter to Hiram, which Josephus has transmitted to us, and is to the following effect.

“ King SOLOMON to King HIRAM, Greeting.

“ Be it known unto thee, O King, that my father
“ David had it a long time in his mind to erect a
“ temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war,
“ and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his
“ enemies, and making them all his tributaries, be-
“ fore he could attend this great and holy work, he
“ hath left it to me, in time of peace, both to begin
“ and finish it, according to the direction, as well
“ as the prediction, of Almighty God. Blessed be
“ his great name for the present tranquillity of my
“ dominions! and by his gracious assistance, I shall
“ now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty
“ and leisure to his honour and worship. Where-
“ fore I make it my request, that you will let some
“ of your people go along with some servants of
“ mine to Mount Libanus, to assist them in cutting
“ down materials towards this building; for the
“ Sidonians understand it much better than we do.
“ As for the workmen's reward or wages, whatever
“ you think reasonable shall be punctually paid
“ them.”

To this letter king Hiram returned a very obliging

answer, which has likewise been preserved by Josephus in the following terms:

“ King HIRAM to King SOLOMON.

“ Nothing could have been more welcome to me
 “ than to understand that the government of your
 “ blessed father is devolved by God’s providence
 “ into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so
 “ virtuous a successor: his holy name be praised
 “ for it! That which you write for shall be done
 “ with all care and good-will; for I will give orders
 “ to cut down and export such quantities of the
 “ fairest cedars and cypress-trees as you shall have
 “ occasion for. My people shall bring them to the
 “ sea-side for you, and from thence ship them away
 “ to what port you please, where they may lie ready
 “ for your own men to transport them to Jerusa-
 “ lem. It would be a great obligation, after all this,
 “ to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange,
 “ as may stand with your convenience, for that is
 “ the commodity we islanders want most.”

We are assured by Josephus, that the originals of these letters were extant in his time, both in the Jewish and Tyrian records*; and they are entirely agreeable with what is delivered in scripture † upon the same subject. Hiram’s answer was highly pleas-

* Notwithstanding Josephus appeals to these records for the authenticity of the two letters here transcribed, some have suspected they are not genuine, especially because Hiram is made to speak of Tyre as if it were an island; whereas it is certain, that the old Tyre, which was then standing, and must be the place here spoken of, was situate on the continent.

† 1 Kings v. 2. et seqq.

ing to Solomon, who, in return for his generous offer, ordered him a yearly present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil. Besides the cedars, and other materials for building the temple, Hiram sent to Solomon a most skilful artist of his own name, who was very famous in Tyre for working in gold, silver, and other metals, to assist and direct him in that great undertaking; nor did he only furnish him with the choicest wood, and the ablest architects and workmen, but advanced him an hundred and twenty talents of gold towards carrying on the fabric*. Solomon took care not to be behind-hand with him in his generosity; for besides the annual supply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he gave him twenty cities in the land of Galilee, not far from Tyre; which Hiram, however, did not think fit to accept of, and from his refusal that part of the country was called Cabul, that is, displeasing†.

This Tyrian prince was equally serviceable to Solomon in the building of his fleet, as in perfecting the great work of the temple, generously sending him as many shipwrights as he had occasion for, together with skilful pilots and mariners, to assist him in carrying on a trade to Ophir from Eloth and Ezion-geber, two ports on the Red Sea; for it is to be remembered, that in those days, and for many ages after, the Tyrians were the most experienced in naval affairs of any people in the world‡.

From all this it appears, that Tyre was in a very flourishing condition under Hiram, who not only

* 1 Kings ix. 14. † 1 Kings ix. 11, 12, 13.

‡ 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, and 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.

enlarged it, but repaired and improved divers cities in the Eastern parts of his dominions. He built two temples, one to Hercules, another to Astarte, beautifying and enriching them with valuable presents. He likewise erected a statue to the former, and is said to have repaired the temples of other gods, to whom he made very costly offerings. In a word, he was rather a religious than a warlike prince; for, during the thirty-four years of his reign, we do not find that he undertook more than one military expedition.

His successors make little figure in history till we come to Pygmalion, who ascended the throne at the age of sixteen, on the death of his father Mettinus. In the seventh year of his reign, his sister Elisa, better known by the name of Dido, fled from Tyre, and laid the foundations of the city of Carthage in Africa; the occasion of which flight is commonly thus related. Pygmalion, coveting the immense riches of his uncle Sichæus, otherwise called Acerbas and Sicharbas, who was a priest of Hercules and had married his sister Elisa, determined by some means or other to gratify his avarice, and get them into his own possession. But as this could not be effected without manifest violence and injustice, whilst Sichæus was alive, he invited him one day to go a hunting; and taking the opportunity, while the rest of the company was eagerly engaged in the chase, he ran him through with his spear; and then, throwing him down a precipice, gave out that the fall had been the occasion of his death. Justin and Virgil say*, that Pygmalion was so im-

* See Justin, lib. xi.—And Virgil makes Venus give this account of Pygmalion:

pious as to murder his uncle at the very altar: but, however that be, he reaped no benefit from his wicked attempt, being disappointed at last by the prudent and artful conduct of his sister Elisa; who, having formed a design of leaving Tyre, and saving both herself and the treasure of her deceased husband from the cruel avarice of Pygmalion, desired him to furnish her with men and ships to convey her effects to Charta or Chartaca, a small city between Tyre and Sidon, upon pretence of retiring to live there with her brother Barca. The covetous prince thought this a fair opportunity of seizing what he had hitherto desired in vain; for Sichæus, who was thoroughly sensible of his nephew's avaricious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under ground. With a view, therefore, of bringing them to light, he readily granted Elisa's demands, of which he soon repented; for being assisted by her brother Barca, and other friends who were privy to her real design, and had engaged to follow her at all adventures, her treasures were put on board, and the fleet out at sea, before Pygmalion had intelligence of her resolution. Finding himself thus deluded, it is said he would have fitted out a fleet

“ Ille Sichæum

“ Impius ante aras, atque auri cæcus amore,

“ Clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum

“ Germanz, factumque diu celavit; et ægram,

“ Multa malus simulanas vanâ spe lusit amantem.” Æ. L. II.

The monarch, blinded with desire of wealth,

With steel invades his brother's life by stealth;

Before the sacred altar made him bleed,

And long from her conceal'd the cruel deed:

Some tale, some new pretence, he daily coin'd,

To sooth his sister, and delude her mind. DRYDEN.

and pursued the fugitives, but was prevented by the intreaties and tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The first place these adventurers touched at was the island of Cyprus, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, who were very necessary for their design of planting a new colony. From Cyprus they steered for the coasts of Africa, where being kindly received by the inhabitants of Utica, a Tyrian colony, they founded Carthage, a city which afterwards rose to such a height of power, as to contend with Rome for universal empire.

The next king of Tyre that occurs in history is Elubæus, who was cotemporary with Salmaneser * king of Assyria. This prince, seeing the Philistines brought low by the war which Hezekiah had made upon them, laid hold of that opportunity to reduce Gath, which some time before had revolted from the Tyrians. Hereupon the people of Gath applying themselves to Salmaneser, engaged him in their cause, insomuch that he marched with a powerful army into the Tyrian dominions; but a peace being concluded between him and Elubæus, he withdrew his troops and retired. Not long after this, Sidon, and several other maritime towns of Phœnicia, threw off their subjection to the king of Tyre, and submitted to Salmaneser; upon which a new war was kindled between the Tyrians and the Assyrians. The Assyrian monarch, who could not brook to see that the Ty-

* This monarch (who in Hosea x. 14. is called Shalman, and in Tobit i. 2. Enemessar) was the son and successor of Arbaces or Tiglath-pileser; and, according to Josephus, there is mention made of him, and of his conquest over the land of Israel, in the history of the Tyrians. Antiq. L. IX. c. 14.

rians should be the only people upon that coast who disputed his power and authority, resolved to use his utmost endeavours towards reducing them; for which end, besides land forces, he fitted out a fleet of sixty sail: but the Tyrians, with twelve ships only, having encountered and dispersed them, and taken five hundred of the rowers prisoners, this action gained them so much reputation for their skill in naval affairs, that Salmaneser, not wishing to venture another engagement at sea, turned the war into a siege; and, having left an army to block up the city, returned to Assyria. These forces reduced Tyre to great distress, by stopping the aqueducts, and cutting of all other conveyances of water; but by digging wells within the city the people found so much relief, as to enable them to hold out for the space of five years; at the end of which, Salmaneser dying, the siege was raised.

This success very much increased the pride and insolence of the Tyrians, for which God was pleased to bring upon that city the destruction he had threatened by his prophets, and which was effected by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. That mighty monarch, whom Ezekiel stiles a king of kings*, laid siege to Tyre in the reign of Ithobal the Second; and such was the power of the Tyrians at that time, that the siege employed him for thirteen years together. At last, however, he made himself master of the place; but as most of the inhabitants had retired with all their effects before it came to that extremity, upon his entering the town he found it almost empty, and nothing left to reward himself or his soldiers for the long fatigues they had undergone. This is evident from scripture, where it is said,

* Ezek. xxvi. 7.

“Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army
 “to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head
 “was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled;
 “yet he had no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for
 “the service that he had served against it *.” En-
 raged therefore at this disappointment, he vented his
 fury upon the buildings and the few remaining in-
 habitants, razing the former to the ground, and put-
 ting the latter to the sword. To this deplorable con-
 dition was Tyre reduced by the Babylonians, and
 thereby the prophecies concerning the overthrow of
 that city plainly fulfilled.

It is evident from scripture that Tyre was utterly
 destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar; and yet we are told
 by the Phœnician historians, that Ithobal (who was
 slain in this war by the Assyrians, as may be inferred
 from Ezekiel’s prophecy † against him) was succeed-
 ed in the kingdom by Baal, and Baal, by several tem-
 porary magistrates. This makes it very probable,
 that the Tyrians, who had retired with their effects
 into an island about half a mile distant from the
 shore, and built themselves a new city, submitted to
 Nebuchadnezzar upon terms after the destruction of
 the old one; and that this monarch deputed Baal to
 be their king, who reigned ten years; but after his
 death, the government, in order to make it more de-
 pendent on the Assyrians, was changed into that of
 magistrates, called suffetes ‡, or judges, a name which

* Ezek. xxix. 18.

† For the character of Ithobal, and the destruction wherewith
 he was threatened, see Ezek. xxxiii. from the beginning to the elev-
 enth verse.

‡ Suffetes had its derivation from the Hebrew word Shophe-
 tim, i. e. judges; which was the very name by which the chief
 governors of Israel were called for several generations, before they
 had kings. Prideaux’s Connect. vol. I. p. 129.

Livy informs us was given to the chief magistrates among the Carthaginians, who, as we see from the story of Elisa and Pygmalion above related, were of Tyrian extraction.

After Tyre had been thus governed for some years by judges, the royal dignity was restored; but the kings continued tributaries to the Assyrians for the space of seventy years, at which time they recovered their ancient liberties and privileges, as well as trade and prosperity, according to Isaiah's prediction †. From hence I shall pass over all the kings of Tyre till the time of Alexander the Great, except Strato, the manner of whose accession to the throne, as given us by Justin, is so very remarkable that it seems worth relating.

It happened that the slaves, who were then very numerous in Tyre, formed a conspiracy against their masters, and murdered them all in one night, except Strato, whom his slave secretly preserved. Having thus got possession of the city, married their mistresses, and made themselves absolute lords of the state, they resolved to create a king out of their own body; and unanimously agreed, that he should be raised to that dignity, who the next morning should first see the rising sun, as thinking that would be a token of the person's being approved of by the gods themselves. For this purpose they resolved to meet about midnight in an open field on the East side of the city, and there, with one accord, to bestow the crown upon the person who should first make the discovery. In the mean time Strato's slave having imparted the whole matter to his master, whom he kept carefully concealed, was advised by him not

† Isa. xxiii. 15, 16, 17, 18.

to turn himself to the East, as the others would probably do, but to the West, and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the highest tower in the city. The slave followed his master's instruction; and the whole multitude, seeing him look for the rising sun in the West, thought him no better than a fool or a madman. But they were soon convinced of their mistake; for while they stood gazing towards the East in expectation of seeing the sun appear, Strato's slave called to them, and shewed them the tops of the high buildings of Tyre already illuminated with his rays. Upon this he was universally applauded by his companions, who pressed him very earnestly to name the person to whom he was indebted for such a wise thought, for they could not ascribe it to himself, or to any of their fellow-slaves. At first he refused to satisfy their curiosity; but at length, upon promise of impunity for himself and the person he should name, he acknowledged, that having been always treated by Strato with great humanity and kindness, he had been influenced by compassion and gratitude to save both him and his son in the common massacre; and that he had acted in the present affair according to his master's directions. The multitude, hearing this, not only pardoned the slave, but looking upon Strato as a person preserved by the particular providence of the gods, immediately advanced him to the throne of Tyre.

We know nothing more of this prince; but he was succeeded by his son, and the kingdom was enjoyed by his descendants; among whom, the only one we find mentioned in history is Azelmic, in whose reign the city of Tyre was besieged and taken by Alexander the Great; which being a very ex-

traordinary event, and the siege one of the most remarkable in antiquity. I hope the reader will excuse me if I dwell a little longer upon that subject, than may seem consistent with the design of a traveller.

All the other cities of Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued, or rather had submitted to the Macedonians, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre, which was then in a very wealthy and flourishing condition. Upon the conqueror's advancing towards their territories, the Tyrians sent ambassadors to meet him, (amongst whom was the king's own son) with presents for himself and provisions for his army. They were willing, it seems, to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when he desired to enter the city, under pretence of offering sacrifice to Hercules*, its tutelar god, they refused him admittance. Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, had too high a heart to put up such an affront, and therefore resolved to force them to it by a siege;

* It is to be observed, that the Tyrians themselves did not know this god by the name of Hercules, but that of Melcarthus; which, being compounded of the two Phœnician words melec and kartha, did in that language signify the king or lord of the city. The Greeks, from some similitude which they found in the worship of this god at Tyre, with that wherewith they worshipped Hercules in Greece, thought them to be both the same; and hence came the name of Hercules Tyrius among them. This god seems to be the same with the Baal of the holy scriptures, whose worship Jezebel brought from Tyre into the land of Israel; Baal with the addition of kartha signifying the same as melec with the same addition, for as the latter in the Phœnician language is king of the city, the other in the same language is lord of the city; and as Baal is put alone to signify this Tyrian god in scripture, so do we also find melec put alone to signify the same god. *Friedeaux's Connection*, vol. III. p. 222.

which they, on the other hand, were determined to sustain to the last extremity. What encouraged the Tyrians in this resolution was the strength of their city both by art and nature, being seated on an island about half a mile from the continent, as before observed, surrounded by a wall a hundred and fifty feet high, and well stored with provisions and all sorts of warlike machines: add to this the confidence they had in the Carthaginians, their allies, who were then masters of the seas, and had promised to send them succours.

It was impossible for Alexander's army to make their approaches to this city, any otherwise than by carrying a mole or causeway from the continent to the island, an attempt wherein they might expect to meet with innumerable and insurmountable difficulties. But, as Alexander was determined to make himself master of the place at any rate, this great work was undertaken, and at length accomplished, notwithstanding the violence of the winds and waves, the vigorous opposition made by the besieged. He was assisted in raising the mole, which was two hundred feet in breadth, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all summoned for that purpose. The ruins of old Tyre on the continent, which had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar furnished him with stones, and Mount Libanus with timber.

The soldiers began the work with great alacrity, being animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders, and who knew how to insinuate himself into and gain the affections of his troops, exciting some by praises, and others by slight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions and softened by promises. At first they advanc-

ed with pretty great speed, but the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with; because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were more annoyed by the darts discharged from the walls of the city. Besides, the Tyrians, who were masters of the sea, would frequently attack them in great boats, and either destroy their works, or prevent their carrying them on; at the same time insulting the Macedonians, telling them, 'it was a noble sight to see those conquerors, whose names were so renowned all over the world, carrying burdens on their backs like beasts;' and sometimes tauntingly asking them, 'whether Alexander was greater than Neptune?'

But the Tyrians, who at first looked upon this undertaking as rash and desperate, and such as could never be attended with success, when they saw the mole begin to appear above water, were under some apprehensions. However, they sent out boats full of slingers, bowmen, and others who threw javelins; and these having spread themselves on each side of the mole, galled the workmen in such a manner, that they were obliged to desist from their labour in order to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover them, and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the mole, to prevent the approaches of the enemy. The besieged also made a descent on the continent, out of the view of Alexander's camp, and cut to pieces some labourers that brought the stones to the causeway: and on Mount Libanus some Arabian peasants, having met with the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took the like number prisoners; which small

losses obliged Alexander to divide his forces into different bodies.

In the mean time the Tyrians employed every invention, every stratagem that could be thought of, to ruin the works of the besiegers. They filled a vessel with sulphur, pitch, and other combustible matters, and having towed it to the head of the mole, they set it on fire. The flames immediately caught the wooden towers above-mentioned, and other works which the Macedonians had raised; and, to prevent their being extinguished, the Tyrians were perpetually hurling fiery darts and torches at the towers, so that the besiegers could not approach them without the greatest danger. Several Macedonians lost their lives upon the causeway, being either shot through with arrows, or burnt in a miserable manner, whilst others threw down their arms and leaped into the sea, but were carried off prisoners by the Tyrians, who maimed them with clubs and stones, and thereby disabled them from swimming. At the same time the citizens manned other boats, and sent them to break down the edges of the mole, tear up the stakes that supported it, and burn the rest of the engines; all which they happily effected.

Though Alexander thus saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, he was not at all dejected upon that account: and his soldiers applied themselves with redoubled vigour to repair the ruins of the mole, and framed new machines with such extraordinary expedition, as quite astonished the besieged. The Tyrians, on their part, defended themselves with all possible bravery and resolution, and frequently made terrible havock of

the Macedonians employed in the work, by pouring upon them showers of arrows, darts, and stones, both from their ships and the walls of the city. However, the besiegers, with unwearied labour and great loss of men, had almost finished their prodigious undertaking, and brought the causeway near the walls of Tyre, when on a sudden a violent storm arose, which beat the waves against it with so much fury, that a breach was made in the middle of it, and great part of it demolished.

This unlucky accident perplexed Alexander to such a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the siege*, and would have sent to the Tyrians to treat of peace, if he had thought they would have hearkened to any reasonable conditions: but as they had thrown headlong into the sea the heralds whom he had sent, before the siege, to summon them to surrender, he was afraid any other messengers from him would meet with the like barbarous reception. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehension, from all thoughts of making up matters by way of treaty, and fully apprized that his reputation, and the future progress of his arms, entirely depended on the success of the present undertaking, he resolved to go through with it at all adventures and accordingly the soldiers, encouraged

* Any warrior but Alexander, says M. Rollin, would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprize; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege: but a superior power who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and dispelling all his fears and anxiety inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments.

by their prince, and forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

But Alexander being sensible, that it would be extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible, either to complete the mole, or take the city, whilst the Tyrians continued masters at sea, determined to assemble his few remaining galleys before Sidon. At the same time he was joined by the fleets of several Phœnician kings, whose cities he had conquered, together with that of the Sidonians, amounting in all to about eighty sail; and a little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of above a hundred and twenty galleys.

The fleet being ready, Alexander embarked, taking some of his own guards along with him, to employ them in close fight with the enemy, and then set sail towards Tyre, in order of battle. He himself was at the extremity of the right wing, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; and the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first commanded to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the numerous fleet approaching, they thought it most adviseable to keep their galleys in the harbour, to prevent the enemy from entering. When Alexander saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port that lay towards Sidon, on account of the narrowness of its entrance, and its being defended by a large number of galleys, he contented himself with sinking three of them which lay without, and after-

wards came to an anchor with his whole fleet along the shore, not far from the mole, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst these things were doing, the new causeway was carried on with the utmost vigour; and the besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with the greatest bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But the patience and courage of the Macedonians surmounted every obstacle, and the mole was again brought, with incredible pains and application, almost to the walls of the city, which the besiegers now began to batter with all imaginable fury.

At the same time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet to take its station before the harbour that lay towards Sidon, and that of the Phœnicians before the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing Egypt, that he might be able to attack the city in several places at once. The Tyrians were not wanting on their part, but advanced with covered galleys, and cut the cables of the enemy's ships as they lay at anchor; so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, to oppose such attacks of the Tyrian galleys. Notwithstanding this, they frequently came and cut the cables unperceived; insomuch that the besiegers were forced at last to make use of iron chains. By this means they fixed their vessels, and carried off with engines the great stones which the Tyrians had placed at the foot of the city wall, to prevent its being approached by the galleys of the enemy.

About this time ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Tyre, who, instead of the promised succours, brought only excuses; declaring, that it was with the greatest grief the Carthagenians found themselves

absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner, being obliged to keep their forces at home for the defence of their country: and indeed the Syracusans were at that time laying waste all Africa with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though thus disappointed, were not all dejected; but having taken the precaution to send most of their wives and children to Carthage, they determined to defend themselves to the very last extremity.

The walls being still violently battered by the rams*

* The battering ram, in Latin called *Aries*, was a military engine used by the Ancients to beat down the walls of places besieged. Of this there were two kinds; the one rude and plain, the other artificial and compound. The first seems to have been no more than a great beam, which the soldiers bore in their arms, and with one end of it, by main force, assailed the walls, and this undoubtedly required great strength to work it, yet produced but a small effect. The second or compound sort is thus described by Josephus; "The ram is a vast long beam, like the mast of a ship
" strengthened at one end with a head of iron, something resembling that of a ram, whence it took its name. This is hung by
" the middle with ropes to another beam, which lies across a couple
" of posts; and, hanging thus equally balanced, is by a great
" number of men violently thrust forward, and drawn backward,
" and so shakes the walls with its iron head. Nor is there any
" tower or wall so thick and strong, as to resist the repeated
" assaults of this forcible machine." But this engine did most execution when it was mounted on wheels, which is said to have been first done at the siege of Byzantium, under Philip of Macedon. Plutarch tells us, that Mark Antony, in the Parthian war, used a ram eighty feet long, and Vitruvius assures us, they were sometimes a hundred and six, and sometimes a hundred and twenty feet in length; to which, perhaps, the force of the engine was in a great measure owing. The ram was managed by a century of soldiers at a time, who were relieved, when weary, by another century: so that it played continually without intermission.

and other military engines placed on the mole, and the city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, the Tyrians resolved to fall upon the Cyprian galleys, that lay at anchor off the harbour looking towards Sidon. They took the opportunity of doing this, when most of the seamen belonging to Alexander's fleet were absent from their vessels, and he himself was withdrawn to his tent on the continent. About noon they came out with thirteen galleys, all manned with chosen soldiers who were used to sea-fights, and, rowing with all their strength, fell furiously upon the enemy's galleys; part of which they found empty, and the rest had been manned in haste. Some of them they sunk, and forced others ashore, where they were bulged and dashed to pieces; and the loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, as soon as ever he heard of the sally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all possible speed against the Tyrians; who, however, did not wait his coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, having also lost some of their vessels.

The city was now warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended; the besiegers battering the walls incessantly, while their archers and slingers harrassed the besieged with stones and arrows, in order to drive them from their posts. But the Tyrians stood their ground, and by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many spokes, which were whirled about by an engine, they either shattered to pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force; and thus they were covered against the assailants, of whom they killed great numbers, without suffering on their own side any considerable loss.

At length the wall began to yield to the violence

of the rams, which battered it night and day without interruption: whereupon the besieged, setting all hands to work, raised, in a very short time, a new wall ten cubits broad, and five cubits distant from the former; and by filling up the space between two walls with earth and stone, kept the Macedonians a long while employed, before they could make, with all their engines; the least impression on this new fortification. However, Alexander having joined many of his ships together, and mounted upon them a vast number of battering engines, besides those already placed upon the mole, he at last succeeded in the attempt, and made a breach a hundred feet wide: but when he came to the assault, in hopes of making his way into the city over the ruins, the Tyrians defended the breach so resolutely, that the Macedonians, notwithstanding the presence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loss to their ships.

The next morning Alexander intended to have renewed the attack; but the Tyrians having repaired the breach in the night-time, he perceived himself no farther advanced than when he first began to batter the walls. Hereupon he determined to change his measures, and having first brought the mole quite home to the wall, he caused several towers to be built upon it equal in height to the battlements. These towers he filled with the most brave and resolute of his soldiers; who, pursuant to his directions, having formed a bridge of large planks, resting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured sword in hand to gain the wall, but were repulsed by the Tyrians with unparalleled bravery, who had invented some kinds

of weapons unknown to the Macedonians. Among the rest they made use of a three-forked hook fastened to the end of a rope, the other end of which they held themselves, and threw the hook against the targets of the besiegers, where it stuck fast, and gave the Tyrians an opportunity either of plucking their targets, out of their hands and thereby leaving them exposed to darts and arrows; or, if they did not readily part with their shields, of pulling them headlong from the towers. Some, by throwing large nets over the Macedonians engaged on the bridges, so entangled their hands, that they could neither use them in their own defence, nor to offend their enemies: and others with iron hooks fastened to long poles, dragged them from the bridges, and dashed their brains out against the wall, or on the causeway. A great many engines, placed on the walls, likewise played incessantly upon the aggressors, with massy pieces of red-hot iron, which swept away great numbers. But what most of all discouraged the Macedonians in this attack, and obliged them at last to give over, was the burning sand, which, by a new contrivance, was showered upon them by the Tyrians. This sand was thrown among them in red-hot shields of brass, and getting within their breast-plates and coats of mail, burnt them to the very bone, and tormented them to such a degree, that many of them finding no other relief, cast themselves headlong into the sea; others threw down their arms, tore off their cloaths, and so were exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the besieged; whilst others, dying in the anguish of inexpressible torments, struck a terror with their cries into all who heard them. This oc-

casioned unspeakable confusion among the Macedonians, and gave new courage to the Tyrians, who now quitted their wall, and charged the enemy hand to hand upon the bridges, with such intrepidity and fury, that Alexander, seeing his men give way, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and thereby saved their lives, and in some degree their reputation. Such desperate attacks were frequently renewed by the besiegers, and always sustained by the Tyrians with the same unbroken and undaunted courage.

It was now that Alexander, disheartened by so vigorous a defence, began seriously to think of abandoning his enterprize, and marching into Egypt; but again considering, what a blemish it would be to his reputation, and what a hinderance to the future progress of his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world that he was not invincible, he resolved to continue the siege, let the event be what it would; though of all his captains, not one but Amyntas approved of his resolution. Determined therefore to make a last effort, he manned a great number of galleys, with the flower of his army; and the Tyrians likewise thought fit to hazard a naval engagement, wherein, however, they lost many of their ships, and, after fighting with the utmost bravery, were obliged to draw off their fleet into the harbour. Alexander pursued their rear very closely, but was not able to enter the port, being repulsed by darts and arrows shot from the walls of the city.

About this time a fancy took the Tyrians upon a dream that one of the citizens had, that Apollo designed to forsake them and go over to Alexander; to prevent which they fastened his statue with gold-

en chains to the altar of Hercules. This statue which was of an enormous size, belonged formerly to the city of Gela in Sicily, and had been sent from thence by the Carthagenians, when they took that place, as a present to Tyre their mother city. In this Apollo the Tyrians put great confidence; and therefore, upon a rumour that he was about to abandon them, had recourse to the above-mentioned method to prevent his departure. But their utter ruin being already decreed by the true God, and foretold by his prophets, not all the confidence they placed in their idols nor even the natural strength of their situation, and their own vigorous and obstinate defence, could avert the impending judgment. They were destined to destruction, and that destruction is now approaching.

After the late sea-fight Alexander let his forces repose themselves two days, and then advanced to Tyre with his fleet and engines, in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and the defence were, if possible, more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and the soldiers on each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. The presence, and especially the example of Alexander, fired his troops with unusual bravery; he himself ascending one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, where he was exposed to the greatest danger into which his courage had ever led him; for, being immediately known by his insignia and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders, killing with javelins some of those who defended the wall; and then advancing nearer, he forced others with his

sword either into the sea or the city. In a word, he himself leading the way, and being followed by his nobility and body-guards, they forced the Tyrians to retire, and got possession of the rampart. At the same time the rams had made several breaches, the fleet had forced into the harbour, and the Macedonian troops had got into the city on that side, sparing none who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades.

The Tyrians seeing themselves overpowered on every side, and the Macedonians masters of their city, some fly for refuge to the temples; others shutting themselves in their houses, escape the sword of the victors by a voluntary death; and others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Alexander gave orders to kill all the inhabitants, (except those who had sheltered themselves in the temples) and to set fire to every part of the city; which command indeed was not executed to its utmost extent, but yet with severity enough: for this city was burnt to the ground; but the Sidonian soldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians, carried off great numbers of them privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. Fifteen thousand of them were thus saved from the rage of the Macedonians, and yet the slaughter was very great; for Alexander, upon his first entering the city, put eight thousand men to the sword; and afterwards, with a shocking barbarity, and to the last degree unbecoming a generous conqueror, caused two thousand of the better sort of inhabitants to be crucified, so many crosses being erected along the sea-

shore for that purpose; and this for no other reason, at the bottom, than because they had fought with such bravery and resolution in the defence of their country. However, to palliate his true motive to so base an action, he gave out that he did it to revenge upon the present Tyrians, the crime which their forefathers committed in murdering their masters, as has been above related; and that, being slaves by origin, crucifixion was their proper punishment*. To make this the more readily believed, he saved all the descendants of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt; and among them king Azelmic, who, at the beginning of the siege, was absent with his fleet upon some expedition in conjunction with the Persian admiral, but had hastened home as soon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the slaughter was over, the number of prisoners amounted to thirty thousand, who were all sold for slaves.

When the city was taken, king Azelmic took re-

* Crucifixion was a punishment among the Ancients, seldom inflicted on any but slaves, or the meanest malefactors; but we find some examples of a different practice: and Suetonis particularly relates of the emperor Galba, that having condemned a Roman citizen to suffer this punishment for poisoning his ward, the gentleman, as he was carrying to execution, made a grievous complaint that a citizen of Rome should undergo such a servile death alledging the laws to the contrary. The emperor, hearing his plea, promised to alleviate the shame of his sentence, and ordered a cross much larger and more neat than ordinary to be erected, and to be washed over with white paint; that the gentleman, who stood so much upon his quality, might have the honour to be crucified in state. Sozomen observes, that Constantine first made a law to abolish the punishment of the cross, which had remained among the Romans till his time.

fuge in the temple of Hercules; and was not only spared by the conqueror, but restored to the throne after Alexander had re-peopled the place; for having thus stripped it of its former inhabitants, he drew colonies into it from the neighbouring cities, and thenceforth styled himself the father of Tyre, of which he had so lately been the cruel destroyer. Alexander spent seven months in the siege of this city; and having taken it, he offered sacrifice to Hercules, the ceremony being conducted with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. As for Apollo, he unchained him, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the Macedonians, and commanded that he should thenceforwards be called Philalexander, that is, the friend of Alexander. After many other superstitious follies, the conqueror continued his march towards Egypt, which the siege of this powerful city had so long retarded.

Thus was Tyre destroyed, and so effectually, that one would think it could not have recovered itself for several centuries; and yet it was no longer than nineteen years after this event, that it was again besieged by Antigonus, held out fifteen months; and at last obtained an honourable capitulation. This circumstance discovers the vast advantages derived from commerce; for this was the only means by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendor. But having detained the reader so long upon the history of Tyre, I shall only add, that being re-established in wealth and power, it maintained its dignity and reputation for many ages. It became a confederate of the Romans, and for its fidelity was rewarded with the privileges

of their city. In the times of Christianity it was the see of an archbishop, as before observed, who had under him fourteen suffragans. The Saracens took it in the year 636, but it was delivered from their yoke in the reign of Baldwin II. by the patriarch of Jerusalem assisted by the Venetians. In 1187 it was in vain attempted by the victorious Saladine. The Tyrians, in short, defended themselves and the cause of Christianity in those parts with wonderful constancy, till about the year 1290, when they were subdued by the Turks; under whose dominion, or that of tributary princes called emirs, they have ever since continued.

On the 24th in the morning, leaving our quarters near Tyre, we came in half an hour to Solomon's cisterns, which have been already described; and in two hours more to the White Promontory, so called from its whitish aspect towards the sea. The road over this is said to have been the work of Alexander the Great, and is about two yards broad, being cut along the side of the mountain, which is very steep and frightful below it, and the more so on account of the raging of the waves at the bottom. Having travelled almost half an hour along this disagreeable road, we got clear of the promontory, and in a short time passed by the ruins of a castle called Scandalium, from its supposed founder the above-mentioned Macedonian monarch, whom the Turks call Scander. An hour beyond this we were obliged to pay another capher; and one hour more brought us into the plain of Acre, where the road is extremely pleasant. This plain extends itself in length from Mount Saron to Mount Carmel, which is at least six hours journey, and about two hours in

breadth between the sea and the mountains. It is well watered, and the soil exceeding fruitful, but is almost desolate, and over-run with weeds for want of culture. After we had travelled an hour in this plain, we passed by an ancient town called Zib, probably the Achzib of the scripture*, one of those places from whence the tribe of Asher could not expel the Canaanitish natives. In three hours from hence we arrived at Acre, the period of this day's journey.

Acre was anciently called Accho, another place from whence the Israelities could not drive the primitive inhabitants. It was enlarged by Ptolemy the First of Egypt, from whom it had the name of Ptolemais; but since the Turks have been masters of it, it has almost recovered its old name, being called Acca, Acra, and Acre. It is very advantageously situated, having a large fertile plain on the North and East, the Mediterranean on the West, and a spacious bay on the South, extending from the city to Mount Carmel. The harbour indeed is none of the safest, being too much exposed to the South-West wind, and the anchorage is but indifferent. Its trade at present, as well as the city, is gone to decay; but they still export considerable quantities of cotton and some other commodities. Here is a large kan, wherein the French factors reside and lodge their merchandise; and this is one of the best buildings and greatest ornaments of the town; nay, the only one, if we except the mosque, that is worth our mentioning.

What this city was in its flourishing condition, may be guessed at from its vast and spacious ruins. Two sides of it being washed by the sea, it appears

* Joshua xix. 29. Judges i. 31.

to have been defended on the land-side by a double wall, with towers at small distances from each other; and without the walls are ditches and a kind of bastions faced with hewn stone. Beyond these works several great stones lie scattered up and down the plain, fourteen or fifteen inches in diameter, which are supposed to have been made use of in battering the place, or to have been thrown from the city to annoy the besiegers. Which way soever we turn our eyes, we meet with evident indications of the ancient strength and magnificence of this city; but there are some ruins that particularly distinguish themselves from the general heap, and bespeak our attention. Those of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Andrew, which are not far from the sea-side, are still conspicuous, and sufficient to give us an idea of the former stateliness of the fabric. What remains of the church of St. John, the tutelar saint of this city, is also worth our notice. The walls, which are almost entire, belonging to the convent of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, are a plain proof of its great strength and extent. Not far from hence was the palace of their grand master, the magnificence whereof may be guessed at from some part of its wall, as well as those of a church which stood within its limits. In short, there are many other ruins of churches, monasteries, palaces, towers, and forts, extending almost a mile in length; wherein we may still discover such certain tokens of their former strength, as if every building in the city had been intended to sustain a siege, or to bid defiance to the injuries of time itself*.

* To the same purpose says our countryman Sandys: "The carcase (meaning the ruins of this city) shews that the body has been

It is well known that this city was for a long time the theatre of contention between the Christians and Infidels, and frequently changing its masters, being in the possession of each alternately for several ages. The Saracens took it from the Christians in the time of Omar; but afterwards, with the rest of Syria, it fell into the hands of the Turks. It was several times taken and retaken in the Holy War. In the reign of Baldwin the First the Christians took it from the Turks; and the success of the enterprize being very much owing to the assistance of the Genoese, they had a third part of the city assigned them as a reward. The Turks under Saladine recovered it in 1187, but did not hold it long, it being taken in the year 1191 by king Richard the First of England, and Philip of France, and given to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. These kept possession of it a whole century, till the year 1291, when the Turks to number of a hundred and fifty thousands, having pressed this city with a long and furious siege, which was sustained by the knights with the greatest bravery, at last entered it by storm, and razed it to the ground; and it has never been able to recover itself since that fatal overthrow.

When Acre was thus taken by the Turks, there was a fine nunnery in the town, of which they tell us the following remarkable story. The abbess, fear-

“strong.— You would think that the city rather consisted wholly of castles, than private buildings; which witness a notable defence, and an unequal assault, or that the rage of the conquerors extended beyond conquest.” This is likewise confirmed by Mr. Maundrell, who says that “in the ruins you may discern marks of so much strength, as if every building in the city had been contrived for war and defence.”

ing that she, and the virgins under her care, should be obliged to submit to such brutal usage as women frequently meet with from soldiers on the taking of cities by storm, summoned the nuns together, advising them to cut and mangle their faces, as the only means to preserve their virginity; and immediately cut and disfigured her own, to set them an example. The nuns, animated by the resolution of the abbess, without any hesitation fell to gashing and tearing their faces, cut off their noses, and made themselves such frightful spectacles, as they were sure would rather excite horror and aversion than lustful desires, and infallibly preserve them from a rape. This, it is said, so enraged the Turkish soldiers, who expected to have found here a kind of paradise upon earth, and to have indulged their wanton flames among the beautiful young nuns, that they put them every one to the sword in revenge for their disappointment.

TRAVELS
THROUGH
PALESTINE:
OR THE
HOLY LAND.

THOUGH the country we have travelled through from Sidon to Acre may in some sense be deemed a part of the Holy Land, having been allotted to the tribe of Asher, whose border extended from Carmel to great Zidon*; yet as the people upon the sea-coasts were never actually mastered by the Israelites, but left by the judgment of God to be thorns in their sides†, I have spoken of it under its more proper name of Phœnice or Phœnicia. But as we are now approaching to those places that are most frequented by our blessed Saviour and his apostles, made famous by their preaching and miracles, and in short, the theatre of the greatest part of the scripture-history; I shall henceforwards, without regard to geographical niceties and criticisms, consider myself as in the Holy Land, Palestine, or Judea; which names I find used indifferently, though perhaps with some impropriety, to signify the same country.

There are three roads from Acre to Jerusalem; one along the coast, by Cæsarea and Joppa; a second by

* Joshua xix. 26, 28. † Judges ii. 3.

Nazareth; and a middle way between both the other, over the plain of Esdraelon. They are all of them more or less dangerous, according as the Arabs are at peace or variance with each other; but there are generally divisions amongst the tribes, which the Turks, for political ends, take care to foment; for as they are numerous, and almost the sole inhabitants of these parts, if they could but unite under any one prince, they might easily shake off the Turkish yoke, and make themselves masters of the country. It happened, however, that they were not very much embroiled at this time; which is always agreeable news to a traveller; and therefore the three roads being equally safe, the French consul chose to take the middle one, as being the nearest. This was not quite agreeable to my inclinations, nor to those of several of the company, who had a great desire to see Nazareth and Mount Tabor, both which we should leave considerably to the left by taking the route proposed. But the consul's affairs requiring him to stay three days at Acre, some young gentlemen belonging to the French factory there, and others who came from Sidon determined to take that opportunity of visiting the above-mentioned places. We very willingly joined the party, which consisted of twelve of us in all, besides two Turkish soldiers, every one being well mounted and armed, and prepared to give the Arabs a warm reception, if any should attack us; but, perhaps luckily for us, our courage was not put to the trial.

We set out from Acre on the 25th in the morning, and travelling along the plain for an hour and a half, we entered a valley between two hills, where we passed by a little village on the left called Satira.

In less than two hours from hence we entered the delightful plain of Zabulon, and, having spent an hour and a half in crossing it, we arrived at Sepharia, or Sephoris, a place where Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Blessed Virgin, are said to have resided. It was formerly called Diocesaria, according to St. Jerom, and was a considerable city; but it is now reduced to a poor village, though there are still some ruins left, to put us in mind that it once made a better appearance. At the West end of the place great part of a church is still standing, said to have been built on the spot where formerly stood the house of Joachim and Anna. Having travelled almost two hours beyond Sepharia, we passed in view of Cana in Galilee, where our Saviour wrought his first miracle, by turning water into wine at a marriage-feast. Keeping our course from hence Eastward, and afterwards turning to the South, we crossed the hills that encompass the vale of Nazareth, where we soon arrived, and took up our quarters at the Latin convent, except the two soldiers, who provided themselves another lodging.

This convent is a neat and commodious building, inhabited by a dozen Latin fathers, whose life would be much more agreeable, if they were not in such continual fear of the Arabs. Having taken a small refreshment, (for we made no stay upon the road) we spent the remainder of the day in taking a view of Nazareth, which is at present only an inconsiderable village, situate on a high hill in the midst of a valley, almost encompassed with other mountains. From the convent we descend by ten or twelve steps into the church, which is built in a cave or grotto, supposed to be the place where the Blessed

Virgin received the salutation of the angel Gabriel, "Hail thou that art highly favoured,"* &c. This church is in the form of a cross, that part of which resembles the tree running directly into the cross, without any other roof over it than that of the natural rock; and the transverse part being built across the mouth of the grotto. Just at the section of the cross are two beautiful granite pillars, erected there by order of Helena the mother of Constantine the Great, about a yard distant from each other; and are said to stand, one on the place where the angel stood to deliver the heavenly message, and the other where the Virgin was when she received it. Almost two foot of this last pillar has been broken away by the Turks just above its pedestal, in expectation of finding some treasure under it; and yet the upper part remains erect, or rather suspended from the roof; which not being easily accounted for, the friars tells us it is supported by a miracle.

Here they also shew you the place from whence the chamber of the Virgin is said to have been transported by angels to Loretto. And yet we were conducted a little distance from the convent, to the house of Joseph, as they call it, where our Saviour spent great part of his life, in subjection to his parents†. Not far from hence they likewise shew us the synagogue where the Jews were so exasperated at our Lord's preaching, that they would have thrown him headlong down a precipice. These places were anciently dignified with handsome churches by queen Helena, which are now in ruins.

The next morning we set out to visit Mount Ta-

* Luke i. 28.

† Luke ii. 51.

bor, called Itabyrion and Atabyrion by the Greeks, which stands at a distance from any other hill, about half a mile within the plain of Esdraelon. We left our horses at the foot of the mountain, chusing to climb it on foot, though it is not so steep but it may be ascended on horseback. In an hour's time we reached the top of it, which we found to be a fruitful and pleasant plain, of an oval figure, about a quarter of a mile in length, and a furlong in breadth. There are trees all round it, except towards the South; and it was anciently encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, the remains whereof are visible to this day. We likewise met with several cisterns of good water in this area, which are very agreeable to a thirsty pilgrim.

This mountain is admired for the regularity of its form, being shaped like a sugar-loaf, and looking more like the work of art than of nature. The trees that grow upon it from top to bottom, which are most of them oaks, are no small addition to its beauty; and its height, which is near two miles, together with its lonely situation, contribute to render it remarkable. But what has made it particularly famous, and has derived on it the veneration of Christians in almost all ages, is its having been the place of the glorious transfiguration of our Saviour in the presence of his three apostles, Peter, James, and John. That this is the mountain where that wonderful scene was exhibited, was for a long time universally believed without the least dispute; but it has been made a doubt of by some modern writers*: howe-

* "Tabor's being situated in such a separate manner (says Mr. Maundrell) has induced most authors to conclude, that this must needs be that holy mountain (as St. Peter styles it,

ver that be, there are still to be seen on the top of the mountain three contiguous grottos, or little chapels with vaulted roofs, intended to represent the three tabernacles which St. Peter, astonished at the splendid miracle, proposed to erect.† This mountain is also memorable for being the rendezvous of Barak's forces, to the number of ten thousand men, with whom he gained a complete victory over Sisera.‡

The prospect from the top of Tabor is beautiful and delightful as ever eyes beheld, or can possibly be imagined, and makes us ample amends for the pains we take in the ascent. All round us we have the spacious and fertile plains of Esdraelon and Galilee, which present us with a view of so many places that were honoured and blessed with the presence and miracles of the Saviour of the world. A few leagues to the South-East we see Mount Hermon, at

“ 2 Pet. i. 18.) which was the place of our Blessed Lord's transfiguration, related Matthew xvii. Mark ix. There you read that Christ took with him Peter, James, and John into a mountain apart; from which description they infer, that the mountain there spoken of can be no other than Tabor. The conclusion may possibly be true, but the argument used to prove it seems incompetent; because the term *καρ' ἰδιαν*, or apart, most likely relates to the withdrawing and retirement of the persons there spoken of, and not the situation of the mountain.”—Reland thinks it a sort of rashness to dispute a point that has been so generally received for so many ages, but acknowledges that he is in some doubts about the matter for many geographical and other reasons; especially because there is no mention made of this hill, as there is of the mount of Olives, mount Carmel, and others; though the sacred writers have been so very particular in naming the places where any thing memorable was wrought by our Saviour.

† Mark ix. 5, 6.

‡ Judges chap. iv.

the foot of which stands Nain, or Naim, famous for our Lord's raising the widow's son to life*; and Endor, the place where the witch dwelt whom Saul consulted†. Turning a little more to the South, we

* Luke vii. 14.

† There is hardly a passage in the Old Testament that has been more canvassed and tortured by authors of all ages, than that in 1 Sam. xxviii. relating to Samuel's apparition when Saul consulted the witch of Endor. Some explode the reality of the appearance, and make the whole to be done by legerdemain and ventriloquy on the woman's part, and by the strength of fancy and fear on Saul's; others think that the devil assumed the form and acted the part of Samuel; and others, that Samuel himself did really appear upon that occasion: which last sense, (though not without its difficulties) is much the most natural and obvious to any one who impartially reads the whole story, and is to be preferred to the two former for the following reasons. First, As to the notion of its being performed by ventriloquy, juggle, or confederacy, besides that it does too great violence to the text, and would be a kind of burlesque upon its author; it is not likely that a woman, cunning enough to carry on a trade of this nature, would be so implicit as to give Saul such a dreadful answer, even though we should grant she was so well acquainted with the bad circumstances of that prince, as to see that his destruction was probably approaching. Menacing predictions, how proper soever for a messenger sent from God to utter, were highly imprudent either in the mouth of this woman or her accomplice, who could not but know, that the temper of most kings is to hate to hear shocking truths, and could expect no reward, but rather punishment for their ill tidings. It is therefore more reasonable to believe, that at such a juncture as this, they would rather have flattered and jacoled the king, have given him comfort, and promised him good success, than have thundered out such threatenings against him, as were very likely to disoblige and incense him, but could do themselves no service. Add to this, that such a terrible denunciation would in no probability prove the most effectual means of shewing the falsehood of their prediction, by putting Saul upon any expedient to avoid it, whether by flight, or

have before us the high mountains of Gilboa. Looking full East we discovered the sea of Tiberius,

any other way, rather than by engaging the enemy.—This last argument is equally strong against those who think that the devil took the shape and acted the part of Samuel; unless we could suppose him so well acquainted with futurity, that he was sure Saul would rush into his own destruction, notwithstanding he was forewarned of it in so signal a manner. Again, if we grant the devil might foresee that the enemy would be too strong for Saul and his army, yet he could not be sure that he would engage them, especially after such a dreadful dissuasive; nor, if he did, that he and his three sons would certainly be killed. The Israelites had won many a victory when there was less probability of gaining it; and, at the worst, they might have escaped by flight. We may observe farther, how unnatural and absurd it is to suppose, that the inspired writer would have expressed himself as he doth, and have introduced the deceased prophet as raised from the dead, and speaking to Saul, if the devil had been the sole actor in his shape; neither is it all probable, that the devil, if it had been he that spoke to Saul, would have played the saint so far, as to reprove him for those very crimes which he himself had tempted him to commit, and especially for making use of an art to raise him up, which he must have been too fond of to discountenance in so severe a manner.—Here indeed it is urged, that there were two falsities in this pretended prophecy, which must therefore be attributed either to the father of lies, or to the juggling old sorceress. The first is, that the apparition says to Saul, “Thou and thy sons shall be with me:” Whereas, say they, Saul died like a reprobate by his own hands, and could not be where Samuel was in the mansions of the blessed. But no more is meant by this, than “thou shalt be dead, or in the other world, as I am already.” The other is, that the spectre says to-morrow; whereas the battle was not fought on the next day, but a day or two after. But though this be granted, it does not follow that the word here translated to-morrow does positively imply the very next day following; for it often signifies shortly, and sometimes hereafter, and is so rendered in other places of the scripture.—Upon the whole then, it seems reasonable to conclude, with the far greater number of authors, ancient and modern, that

about a day's journey distant from us; and close by that sea they shew us a steep mountain, down which

it was really Samuel who appeared to the woman, and foretold Saul's death, and the defeat of Israel. This, as has been already observed, is the obvious and natural sense of the text; and it is confirmed by the testimony of the wise son of Sirach, an excellent interpreter of the canonical scriptures, who tells us expressly, (Eccles. xliv. 20.) that "Samuel prophesied after his death, and shewed the king his end; and lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people." I know of only two objections of any weight, that are made against this opinion, which yet are not unanswerable, or at least may be so far lessened as to appear inconsiderable, in comparison of those that have been urged against the other two.—The first objection is, that it were absurd to suppose that the devil has so much power over the souls of the deceased, especially of the saints, as to make them appear visible at the desire of a sorceress. To which it may be answered, that there is no necessity for supposing any such extraordinary power in the devil, but rather that God caused Samuel to appear to Saul, to reprove him for his former sins, and for this last in particular, of seeking advice from wizards, contrary to his express commands; and to bring him thereby, if possible, to such a sense of his faults, as might prevent his making such a desperate exit. That all this happened contrary to the woman's expectation, who could not be ignorant that it was above the power of her art to evocate the souls of the blessed, is evident from the surprise she discovered at Samuel's sudden appearing; and consequently that her magic was not concerned therein, but that it was the effect of some superior cause. Her necromancy had ordinarily power over demons only, or such wretched spirits as were submitted to the devil's tyranny: but on this occasion, she saw an object so terrible, so venerable, so majestic, so different from any thing she had ever raised before, and that coming upon her before she had begun her incantations, that she could not help being frightened, and "crying out with a loud voice," (according to the text) as being fully satisfied that the apparition came from God.—The other objection is, that it is very improbable that God, who had refused to answer Saul, either by Urim, or by dreams, or by prophets, should now do it,

the herd of swine ran, and perished in the waters. Two or three points to the North we are shewn the Mount of the Beatitudes, a little hill where our Saviour delivered his excellent sermon recorded in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew. Not far from hence is the city Saphet, which stands upon a mountain, and is supposed to be the ancient Bethulia. We have likewise a view of a place which they tell us was Dothan, where Joseph was sold by his brethren; and also of the field where our Lord fed five thousand people with five loaves and two fishes, and twelve baskets were filled with the fragments. On the West and North-West our prospect

at least seemingly, by the ministry of a wicked woman. Why God dealt with Saul after this manner, is perhaps beyond our power to determine; but as we have sufficient proof that he did so, we are sure he did it for wise reasons. Though he had refused to answer him in the ordinary ways, might he not do it in an extraordinary one, in order to make the greater impression upon him, who had always been too regardless of God's commands, when communicated to him by the prophet? Saul might likewise be suffered to seek for counsel from a witch, to make him sensible what degree of impiety he had brought himself into; and God's sending Samuel to reprove him for it was a signal method of discountenancing such a wicked and forbidden practice. However, though the interpretation which supposes the reality of Samuel's apparition may be clogged with some difficulties, yet they are manifestly fewer and less than those wherewith the other opinions are attended; for they most necessarily loss themselves in a dark and intricate labyrinth, who suppose that two such remarkable events, as the death of Saul and his three sons, and the total defeat of the Israelitish army, could be foretold so positively and exactly, either by a juggling woman, or by the devil, or indeed by any but an omniscient power. See Universal History, Vol. I. p. 771, and Stackhouse's History of the Bible, p. 661, who has an express dissertation upon this subject.

is bounded by Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean.

Being very well satisfied and delighted with our view of mount Tabor, we returned to Nazareth the same way we came, and arrived at the convent about twelve o'clock. In the afternoon we walked abroad to see several of the holy places in the neighbourhood, as they are deemed by the Christians in these parts. About five hundred yards from the convent, upon a little eminence, they shewed us a great stone called our Lord's table, from a tradition they have, that it was frequently used as such by our Saviour and his apostles. Half a mile from Nazareth we saw the ruins of a nunnery, where formerly stood a church dedicated to Our Lady of Fear, because they say that the Virgin followed our Lord when the Jews were leading him to the precipice, and being afraid they would put him to death, fell down in this place; and they pretend to shew the impression made by her knee in the solid rock. About a mile farther, entering a narrow cleft between two rocky mountains and clambering up a troublesome way, we came to the brink of a precipice, which is said to be the very place where our Lord's countrymen, enraged at his preaching, would have thrown him down headlong, had he not eluded their fury by a miraculous escape *. Here they likewise shew us a great stone with several little holes in it, which, if you believe the friars, were made by Christ's fingers, who laid hold of it to save himself from the violence offered him by his enemies. At this place are the ruins of a church, or some religious build-

* See Luke iv. 16, 30.

ing, founded by the pious empress Helena above-mentioned; and several cisterns for saving water.

Having taken another night's lodging in the convent, and satisfied the guardian for our entertainment, we returned to Acre, on the 27th, all in good health, and unmolested by the Arabs. On the 28th in the morning we continued our journey towards Jerusalem in company with the consul, and travelling by the side of the bay of Acre till we came to the bottom of it, we then turned Southward, and passed a little river called Kardanah, supposed to be the ancient Belus, famous for its sand, which is said to be an excellent material for making glass, and to have given the first occasion and hint of that fine invention*. Here we began to decline a little from the sea-coast, and in two hours arrived at the farther side of the plain, where it is bounded by Mount Carmel.

This mountain stretches from East to West, being washed by the Mediterranean, and is the most remarkable head of land on all the coast. It was noted among the ancient pagans, as being a place wherein Pythagoras is said to have taken great delight; but has been far more revered among Christians, as it is supposed to have been the residence of the prophet Elijah, some time before he

* The Sidonians are reported to have first made this discovery from the following accident: Some travellers having reared an itinerary hearth on the sand of this river with large pieces of nitre, and set some fern on fire under a kettle to boil their victuals, perceived the sand and nitre to melt and incorporate with the fern-ashes, and presently after to run into a transparent stream which hardened as it cooled; from whence the hint of making glass was taken, and gradually improved to its present degree of use and beauty.

was taken up into heaven. From hence the order of Carmelite friars took their name and origin, who pretended to be descended by an uninterrupted succession from the children of the prophets left in mount Carmel by Elijah and Elisha. The manner in which they make out their antiquity has something in it too ridiculous to be related: some among them pretend they are the descendants of Jesus Christ; others go farther, making Pythagoras a Carmelite, and the ancient Druids regular branches of their order. But the most reasonable and probable account of their origin is that given us by Phocas, a Greek monk, who tells us, that in his time; that is, in the year 1158, the cave of Elijah was to be seen upon the mountain; and that some years before, a priest of Calabria, pretending a revelation from the prophet Elijah, fixed there, and assembled ten brothers. In 1209, Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, gave the solitaries a rigid rule, which was approved and confirmed in 1217, or, according to others, in 1226, by Honorius the Third, though it was afterwards mitigated by Innocent the Fourth in 1245. Many of the popes gave the Carmelites the title of Brothers of the Blessed Virgin; and the order is eminent for its missions, and the great number of saints with which it has stocked the Romish church. It is to be observed that the order of the Carmelites is to be divided into two branches, namely, those of the ancient Observance, called the Mitigated or Moderate; and those of the strict Observance, called Barefooted Carmelites, for a reason which the epithet itself declares. These last are a reform of the ancient Carmelites, set on foot in 1540 by St. Theresa; who having begun with the

convents of nuns, and restored them to the primitive austerity of the order, which had been mitigated as above-mentioned, by Innocent the Fourth, the reform was at length introduced among the friars. Pope Pius V. approved the design, and Gregory III. confirmed it in 1580.

The convent of the Carmelites is not at present upon the very top of the mountain, where they had a fine one before the Christians lost the Holy Land, the ruins of which are still visible; but they have a small house somewhat lower, where they lead a very austere life, and are chiefly subsisted by the charity of the French merchants at Acre, who frequently go thither to perform their devotions. They had likewise a handsome church belonging to the ancient monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; but that being destroyed, their present church is a little grotto, neatly cut out of the rock, said to have been the habitation of Elijah; though there are other grottos about the mountain, which he is supposed to have made by turns the places of his residence. From the convent of the Carmelites there is a boundless prospect over the Mediterranean; but the good fathers seem to have fixed their abode in the most barren and rocky part of the mountain, as that is towards the sea; whereas at a little distance from the coast it is as remarkable for its fertility and beauty, being clothed with vines, olives, and other fruit trees, where it is cultivated, and in other places overspread with fragrant herbs, shrubs, and plants, among which a curious botanist would undoubtedly find an agreeable amusement.

Some will have it, that the habitation of Elijah upon mount Carmel was turned into a synagogue

after his being taken up into heaven, from whence God was pleased to give answers relating to futurity, as he had before done by that prophet. Upon what authority this is affirmed, I know not; but we may observe, that anciently the name Carmel was not only given to the mountain, and to a town, but also to a god; for, according to Suetonius, the emperor Vespasian consulted the oracle of the god Carmelus, which assured him he should be successful in all his undertakings. It has been also conjectured, that Jupiter had once a temple on Mount Carmel, thence called the Holy Mountain of Jupiter; but Tacitus denies that there was any temple there, or image of a god, but an altar only, which was held in great veneration.

About three miles from the present convent of the Carmelites, they shew us a fountain of good water, which they say Elijah miraculously caused to spring out of the ground; and it is said to have been quite dry all the time the monks were banished from Mount Carmel, after the Christians lost this country; but to have issued forth again plentifully as soon as they returned to the mountain. Near this spring are the ruins of a monastery; and at some distance from thence they tell us of a spot of ground abounding with stones exactly resembling melons, which, if you can believe the friars, were once in reality what they are now in appearance only; but were turned into stones by the prophet Elijah, to punish an ill-natured gardener, who refused to give him a melon which he asked in charity. But the less credit is given to this miracle, because a great many stones are to be found about Mount Carmel, pretty much in the form of olives, plums,

peaches, and other fruit; which are generally presented to pilgrims, with fine stories concerning the manner of their production and virtues, that serve to raise the admiration of the credulous and superstitious*.—But to proceed on our journey.

Through a narrow valley we passed from the plain of Acre into that of Esdraelon, and in two hours arrived at a river which runs down the middle of the plain, and discharges itself into the sea on the North side of Mount Carmel. This river has been generally taken for the ancient Kishon, whose head has been erroneously placed about Mount Tabor; whereas the sources of the true Kishon are on the South-East side of Mount Carmel, and the valley through which it runs is separated by little hills from the plain of Esdraelon. The course of this river is but short, nor is it considerable of itself, but when swelled by the numerous torrents which upon sudden rains fall into it from the neighbouring

* “ In the mountains of Carmel, says Doctor Shaw, we gather
 “ a great many stones, which being in the form, as is pretended,
 “ of olives, melons, peaches, and other fruit, are commonly impos-
 “ ed upon pilgrims, not only for such curiosities, but as antidotes
 “ likewise against several distempers. The olives, the lapides
 “ judaici of the shops, have been always an approved medicine
 “ against the stone and gravel; but little can be said in favour of
 “ their melons and peaches, which are only so many different sizes
 “ of round hollow flint stones, beautified in the inside with such
 “ sparry and stalagmitical knobs as are made to pass for the like
 “ number of seeds and kernels. The little round calculi, com-
 “ monly called the Virgin’s pease; the chalky stone of the grotto
 “ near Bethlehem, called her milk; the waters of Jordan and
 “ Siloam, the oil of Zaccone, the roses of Jericho, beads made of
 “ the olive-stones of Gethsamene, with various curiosities of the
 “ like nature, are the presents which pilgrims usually receive in
 “ return for their charity.” Shaw’s Travels, p. 372, 373.

mountains, it overflows its banks, and carries down all before it with a wonderful rapidity; and it was doubtless at such a conjuncture as this, that it proved so fatal to the host of Sisera*. Having travelled about three hours more, we pitched our tents this evening by the side of a small brook, at a little distance from a village called Legune, perhaps the Legio or Legion of some ecclesiastical writers. From hence we had a fine view of the plain of Esdraelon, which is of a vast extent, and one of the most fertile parts of the land of Canaan, our prospect being bounded, at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles, with the mountains Tabor and Hermon, and those of Nazareth; but most of this plain lies uncultivated, and only serves the Arabs for pasturage. It was anciently called the valley of Jezreel, and the great plain of Legion.

On the 29th in the morning an emir of the Arabs came to us, and forced us to pay him a caphar; which done, we soon left the plain of Esdraelon and the precincts of the tribe of Issacher, and entered those of the half tribe of Manasseh, which, though somewhat more hilly than the former, is nevertheless a fine arable country. Our road lay for several hours through narrow vallies, the hills on each hand being covered with pleasant woods; and after crossing another little plain, we came in half an hour to Caphar Arab, where we took up our quarters, and passed a restless night for fear of being plundered by the Arabs, of whom considerable numbers were encamped in the neighbourhood.

Not much liking our situation, we paid our caphar and set out early the next morning, leaving on our

* Judges v. 21.

right hand the two villages Arab and Rama, and in two hours arrived at Sebaste, the ancient Samaria, which stands upon a long mountain of an oval figure, just within the borders of the tribe of Ephraim. The ground on which stood this once famous city, and seat of the kings of Israel, is now mostly converted into gardens, and the place itself reduced to a mean and inconsiderable village; nor are there any remains left to testify its former grandeur, except a large square piazza on the North side of the hill, encompassed with pillars, and on the East side part of an old church, said to have been built by the empress Helena, on the place where St. John Baptist was imprisoned and beheaded. Within the walls of the church there is a descent by steps into a dungeon, where it is said the blood of that holy man was barbarously shed; and the Turks, who are sole inhabitants of this decayed place, have such a veneration for this prison, that they have erected over it a small mosque; but for a little bit of money you are admitted to satisfy your curiosity.

The city was built by Omri, one of the kings of Israel, and made the capital of that kingdom, whereas their princes till that time had usually resided at Tirzah*. Samaria was twice besieged by Benhadad king of Syria, as has been already mentioned, and was miraculously preserved the last time when it was upon the point of being taken. But the sins of the Israelites at length provoked the Lord to deliver this city into the hands of Salmaneser, king of Assyria, who laid close siege to it in the reign of Hoshea. That prince, who had not been able to make head against the Assyrian monarch, had however so well

* 1 Kings xvi. 23, 24.

fortified himself in the city, that it held out almost three years against the besiegers. The text gives us no farther particulars either of this siege or of the war, except that, after the taking of Samaria, the rest of the kingdom was forced to submit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his subjects were carried away into captivity*: but from the dreadful account of it in some of the prophets, who describe the distress of the people upon this occasion in the strongest terms, it is evident that the Assyrians committed the most horrid cruelties towards their captives, ripping up pregnant women, and dashing their children against the ground; and having reduced Samaria to a heap of ruins, and laid waste all the land, returned home laden with the spoils of Israel. Salmaneser loaded Hoshea with chains, and shut him up in prison the rest of his days: and as for the captive Israelites, he transplanted them to Halah, Habor, and other cities of the Medes, whither some of their brethren had before been carried by Tiglath-Pileser. This was the sad end and destruction of the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, after it had lasted two hundred and fifty-four years from its first separation from that of Judah; which remarkable event happened in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and the ninth of Hoshea. A great number, however, of the Israelites both saved their lives, and escaped being carried into slavery; some of them flying into Egypt, and many more into the kingdom of Judah, where they were weaned by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became subjects to Hezekiah and his successors: and the Assyrians, on the other hand, sent colonies from

* 2 Kings xvii. throughout.

several of their provinces to re-people the land of Israel*.

After this destruction of Samaria by Salmaneser, it recovered in a great measure its former strength and grandeur; but it was again taken and demolished by Hyrcanus, after having sustained a whole year's siege with the utmost bravery. The conqueror ordered the walls and houses of the city to be razed and laid level with the ground; and to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep trenches to be cut every way across the place where it stood, and to be filled with water. However, it was once more re-established in the time of Herod the Great, who raised it from a ruined to a most magnificent state, encompassed it with a strong wall, adorned it with a fine temple, and called it Sebaste, a word of much the same import as Augusta in Latin, in honour of Augustus Cæsar; which name, obscure and ruined as it is, it retains to this day with very little variation.

The first village we passed by after leaving Sebaste was Sherack, and the next Barseba, both on

* These new colonies, as we learn from 2 Kings xvii. 25, had like to have been destroyed by lions, (Josephus says by pestilence) on account of their impiety. The king of Assyria being told, that the cause of this calamity was their not worshipping the god of the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them from among the captives, to instruct them in the worship of the God of Israel. This was done accordingly: but these idolaters, instead of forsaking their Pagan deities, continued to worship them jointly with the true God; and thus a strange mixture of religion was introduced, and afterwards continued among the Samaritans; from whence, sprang the mutual hatred between them and the Jews; the latter abominating the name of the former, and these always disclaiming any kindred with the Jews in time of adversity, though forward enough to claim it in time of prosperity.

our right hand; and then travelling along a narrow valley, watered with a pleasant stream, in two hours we arrived at Naplosa, the ancient Shalem, Shechem, Sychem or Sychar. It stands in the said valley, between Mount Gerizim on the South and Ebal on the North, being built at the foot of the former, partly on the side of the hill, and partly on the plain. The town is nothing in comparison of what it must formerly have been, either with respect to its magnificence or extent; and yet it is of a considerable length, consisting chiefly of two parallel streets, is very full of inhabitants, and the seat of a Turkish sangiack. It is at present the chief residence of the Samaritans, who have a small temple here, to which they resort, at certain seasons, to perform their religious rites; but whether they are still idolaters, and worship a calf, as the Jews pretend they do, I cannot positively determine; though I give little credit to the accusation, as coming from their inveterate enemies.

The soil about Naplosa is fertile, the gardens are full of orange and citron-trees, and watered with fine rivulets that fall from the mountain; and olive-trees grew hereabouts in great abundance. On the South side of the town there is a little rocky eminence called Elmaida, where our Lord is said to have laid him down to rest, when he was weary of travelling; and they pretend to show you some prints of his hands and feet in the rock, and tell you that the impression of his body was formerly to be discerned. From this eminence we had an agreeable view of the whole town, which is the largest and most considerable we had met with since our departure from Sidon.

The mountains Gerizim and Ebal are memorable

for the blessings and curses which God commanded to be pronounced from thence upon the children of Israel*. Upon Gerizim, which was appointed for the blessings, were to stand the tribes of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph and Benjamin; and upon Ebal, where the curses were to be delivered, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan and Naphtali. An altar was likewise to be erected on Mount Ebal (or Gerizim, according to the Samaritan pentateuch) of unhewn stones covered over with plaister and inscribed with the body of the Jewish law; and here they were commanded to offer sacrifices, and to make great rejoicing before the Lord; all which was punctually performed in the time of Joshua†. The Samaritans affirm that Gerizim was the place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice, and pretend that the Jews have maliciously corrupted the text, and substituted Ebal instead of Gerizim, merely because the Samaritans worshipped in the last mentioned mountain. In confirmation of this, they plead, that as Gerizim was confessedly the mountain of blessing, and Ebal the mountain of cursing, by God's own appointment, it is most probable that the former was also appointed for the sacrifices and religious festivals which the Israelites were commanded to observe. If any of the great stones, made use of by Joshua in building the altar, were to be found upon Mount Gerizim, it would determine the question on the side of the Samaritans; but as no such evidence can be produced, I leave the controversy to be decided by the learned.

The town of Naplosa, or Sychem, has reason to boast of its great antiquity, for it seems to have

* Deut. ix. 29, and xxvii. 12, 13.

† Joshua viii. 30—35.

been of considerable note in the time of Jacob. Its inhabitants however were slain, and the city plundered, by the sons of Jacob, to revenge the rape of their sister Dinah, committed by Shechem the son of Hamor, who was the prince of that country*. Abimelech destroyed the inhabitants, and levelled the city with the ground†; but it was rebuilt by Jeroboam‡, and again ruined by the kings of Damascus. Vespasian settled a colony in this town, and called it Flavia Cæsarea; from whom sprung Justin Martyr, a faithful champion for the cause of Christianity. It was likewise formerly called Neapolis, to which its modern name bears some resemblance. The Samaritans had once a temple on Mount Gerizim, which seemed to rival that of Jerusalem; but in the time of the Maccabees it was destroyed by Hyrcanus.

Having made some stay at Naplosa, and paid our caphar, we continued our journey along the same narrow valley, and on the right hand, just without the city, we observed a mosque, formerly a Christian church, said to stand exactly over the sepulchre of Jacob, in the piece of ground that he purchased of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem||. It is usually called Joseph's sepulchre, his bones having been here interred after they were brought out of Egypt by the children of Israel§.

About a mile from Naplosa, we came to Jacob's well, famous on account of its ancient master, but more so for the memorable conference held there between our blessed Saviour and the woman of Samaria. Some have questioned whether this be really the well that it is pretended to be, as thinking it too

* Gen. xxxiv. throughout. † Judges ix. 45. ‡ 1 Kings xii. 25.

|| Gen. xxiii. 19.

§ Joshua xxiv. 32.

remote from Sychar for women to come thither to draw water; especially as the present town is so well supplied with that element, that the inhabitants have no necessity to fetch it at such a distance. But for my part, I have no doubt of its being actually the well which the scripture means, since it is highly probable, that Sychar, in our Saviour's time, was of much greater extent than the present Naplosa; as may be conjectured from some remains of a thick wall, which are still to be seen not far from the well itself. That devout patroness of the Holy Land, the empress Helena, formerly caused a large church to be erected over this well; but the malice of the Turks, and the destroying hand of time, have left nothing of it remaining, except some parts of the foundation. The well is arched over with stone, but there is a narrow passage left to go down into the vault, where, by removing a flat stone, we discover the mouth of the well itself; which is dug out of a firm rock, it is three yards in diameter, and five or six and thirty in depth, with above two fathom water in it: so false is that story which the country people impose upon travellers, that the well is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of the day when our Saviour discoursed with the Samaritan woman, but that then it bubbles up abundantly.

Here is the end of the narrow valley of Sychem, which at this well opens itself into a spacious field, supposed to be part of the parcel of ground that was given to Joseph by his father Jacob*. It is watered by a fine rivulet, which renders it fertile and delightful; but from hence our road led us to the Southward, along another valley much wider than the

* John iv. 5.

former. Having passed by two or three small villages on our right, we arrived in the evening at a kane or inn called Leban, and there took up our quarters. This kane is situated on the east side of a pleasant valley, and opposite to it stands a village of the same name, which may possibly have been the Lebonah mentioned Judges xxi. 19. if we may conjecture from the likeness of its name and situation.

The 31st in the morning we had no sooner got on horse-back, but we found ourselves engaged in a difficult task, that of climbing a steep and craggy mountain. We mastered it however in less than an hour, and having left a village called Cinga at some distance on our right, in one hour more we entered a narrow valley, at the farther end of which we came to the ruins of a monastery, as they appeared to be, and of a considerable village. Hereabouts was Jacob's Bethel, where he took up his lodging in the open air*, with the sky for his canopy, and a

* The place where Jacob took up his lodging was near Luz, which signifies an almond, and might very likely have its name from the many groves of almond-trees thereabouts, under some of which it is not unlikely that Jacob might repose himself; as they would afford him no incommodious shelter from the weather. On account of the vision which Jacob had here, he called the place Bethel; and the Israelites, when they conquered Canaan in remembrance of the thing, continued the name. It lay to the North of Jerusalem, and the West of Hai, on the confines of the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin: So that, upon the revolt of the ten tribes, it belonged to the kingdom of Israel, and was one of the cities where Jeroboam set up his golden calves; whence the prophet Hosea, chap. iv. 15. alluding to the name given it by Jacob, calls it Beth-aven, instead of Beth-el, *i. e.* the House of Vanity or Idols, instead of the House of God.

stone for his pillow, which however was made easy to him by the vision of God and of the angels ascending and descending on a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and by the comfortable promises he then received from the Almighty, that he should have the land of Canaan for his inheritance, that his posterity should be numerous, that the Messiah should descend from his family, that he should return safe to his native country, and that throughout his journey he should experience the divine protection and preservation. Near this place were the limits between the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin*.

From hence our road lay through several large olive-yards, leaving two or three Arab villages on our right, till we came to a rocky precipice, over which a way has been cut with incredible labour. An hour afterwards we arrived at Beer, the place whither Jotham fled from his brother Abimelech†. The town is pleasantly situated on an easy declivity facing the South, and at the bottom of the hill there is a plentiful spring of excellent water. In the upper part of the town we see the remains of an old church, built by the empress Helena, on the very place, as they tell you, where the Blessed Virgin sat herself down to bewail the loss of her dear son Jesus, whom she could not find amongst the company, as she expected; and therefore returned to Jerusalem in search of him, where she was agreeably surprised to find him in the temple disputing with the doctors‡.

Leaving Beer, we proceeded, as we had done the greatest part of the way from our last night's lodg-

* Joshua xviii. 23.

† Judges ix. 21.

‡ Luke ii. 43—58.

ings, through a rugged country, scarce presenting any thing to our view but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices, which are apt to give travellers quite different ideas of the Land of Promise, from those they had formed before from the pleasing description given of it in the sacred writings*. And indeed, at first sight, one would think it impossible for such a land as this to have furnished food for the vast number of inhabitants that formerly dwelt in it: But we must consider, that these very mountains, which now appear barren, were then cultivated and improved to the best advantage; being either planted with vines and olive-trees, or else with melons, cucumbers, and other garden-stuff, which makes great part of the food of the Eastern nations at the proper season of the year. In order to keep the mould from tumbling or being washed down the sides of the hills, they used to gather up the stones, and build a sort of walls at convenient distances, between which they formed beds of excellent soil, rising one above another from the bottom to the top of the mountains. Some traces of this method of culture may still be discerned in most of the mountains of the Holy Land; and thus the industrious husbandman made the very rocks fruitful, and every spot of ground afford something or other towards the sustenance of human life.

But suppose we grant that some parts of the Holy Land, particularly about Jerusalem, are barren and unfruitful, (which is not true in the main) yet if the far greatest part of the country is wonderfully fertile, as it really is, it sufficiently justifies the description we find of it in the holy scriptures, and ac-

* Deut. viii. 7, 8, 9. and xi. 9—15. with many other places.

counts for its once supporting such a prodigious number of inhabitants, and likewise affording its neighbours those supplies of corn and oil, which we are assured it did in the reign of Solomon. That it abounded with oxen, sheep, goats, &c. and also with fowls, appears from the frequent sacrifices of those animals among the Jews; and as they had plenty of cattle, they had milk enough of consequence, one of the distinguishing blessings of the Land of Promise. As to honey, the mountains of this country being many of them covered with thyme, rosemary, and such like aromatic plants and herbs, in which the bees take most delight, we need not wonder that the land was said to flow with it, (as well as with milk) to express its abundance: especially when we consider, that the very woods and desarts of Judea afforded a wild honey, whatever it was, which Jonathan found dropping from the trees*, and which was part of the food of St. John the Baptist†.

Upon the whole, the complaints of some travellers relating to the present barrenness of the Holy Land, and the objections that have been raised from thence against the truth of several passages of scripture, appear to me to be entirely groundless: For the country is far from being naturally unfruitful; but as it wants inhabitants; and the few that possess it are quite averse to labour and industry, great part of it lies uncultivated and neglected; whereas if it were well peopled and husbanded as it ought to be, the soil is generally rich, and would produce as plentiful crops as the most fertile parts of Syria; and as to the goodness of its wheat and other grain, none can

* 1 Sam. xiv. 26.

† Matth. iii. 4.

be more excellent than what we meet with at Jerusalem, to which city we are now hastening.

Two hours after we had left Beer, we came to the top of a hill, which gave us the first sight of Jerusalem; having at the same time Rama within view on our right hand, and on our left the plain of Jericho and the mountains of Gilead. Another hour brought us to the walls of the holy city; but as it is not lawful for any Frank to enter the gates without having first obtained permission from the governor, the consul dispatched a messenger for that purpose; who having executed his commission with all possible speed and success, we entered at Bethlehem gate, and were conducted by the consul to his own house, who generously invited us to make it our home during our stay at Jerusalem. We accepted of his invitation with respect to our lodging, but we generally took our meals at the Latin convent, where all Frank pilgrims, as we now reckoned ourselves to be, are usually entertained, though the fathers are well paid for their trouble and provisions.

The little time we had to spare before Easter would not permit us to take an accurate survey of Jerusalem; so that I shall only give some general account of it at present, and defer particulars till that season of devotion is over, when we shall have more leisure to examine them with attention.

This renowned city, though much fallen from its ancient grandeur, is still reckoned the capital of Palestine, and is much resorted to, either out of curiosity or devotion, from all parts of the Christian world. It is situated about thirty miles to the Eastward of the Mediterranean, on a rocky mountain,

with steep ascents to it on all sides, except towards the North; and surrounded with a deep valley, which is again encompassed with hills; being thus placed, as it were, in the midst of an amphitheatre. It is walled round, but the walls are not very strong; nor have they any bastions, but an inconsiderable ditch on one side only. The city has six gates, namely, those of Bethlehem, Mount Zion, Sterquilina or the Dung-gate, St. Stephen's, Herod's, and that of Damascus; besides the Golden Gate which is walled up, because of a prophecy the Turks have amongst them, that by that gate the Christians are to take Jerusalem. The private buildings are very mean, and the streets are narrow, crooked, and many of them full of ruins; and indeed there is a great deal of waste ground in the city, and the whole is but thinly inhabited, though it is scarce three miles in circumference.

The present Jerusalem does not stand upon the same ground that was taken up by the ancient city; for Mount Calvary, which is a small eminence upon the greater Mount of Moriah, and formerly appropriated to the execution of malefactors, was shut out of the walls as a polluted place; whereas since our Saviour's suffering upon it, it has been so revered and resorted to by all Christians, that it has drawn the city round about it, and stands now near the middle of Jerusalem; and, on the contrary, a great part of the hill of Zion is left without the walls*. In short, the only thing that renders Jeru-

* Dr. Shaw's account of the situation of Jerusalem agrees very well with this of our author. "The hills which stand round about Jerusalem, says the Doctor, make it appear to be situated as it were in an amphitheatre, whose Arena inclineth to the East."

salem considerable at present is the resort of pilgrims thither; and the accommodating them with necessaries seems to be the principal business of the inhabitants. It is the seat of a Turkish sangiack, whose chief care is to collect the Grand Signior's tribute, to see good order observed, and to protect the pilgrims, and fathers who reside here, from the insults of the Arabs.

On Good-Friday, in the Latin style, the French consul was obliged to go into the church of the holy sepulchre, to attend the religious solemnity of that season, and we made no scruple to accompany him, though it was not yet Easter according to our computation. The doors of the church are guarded at these times by Turkish officers and soldiers, who watch that none enter who have not paid an appointed caphar, which is more or less according to the country or character of the persons who want to be admitted. Whoever has once paid this duty may go in and out gratis during the whole feast at public times, when it is usual for the doors to be

ward. We have no where, that I know of, any distant view of it. That from the Mount of Olives, which is the best, and perhaps the farthest, is, notwithstanding, at so small a distance, that when our Saviour was there, he might be said, almost in a literal sense, 'to have wept over it.' There are very few remains of the city, either as it was in our Saviour's time, or as it was afterwards rebuilt by Hadrian; 'scarce one stone being left upon another, which hath not been thrown down.' Even the very situation is altered: For Mount Sion, the most eminent part of the old Jerusalem, is now excluded, and its ditches filled up; whilst the places adjoining to Mount Calvary, where Christ is said to have suffered without the gate, are now almost in the centre of the city." Shaw's Travels, p. 334.

open; but if they would have them opened at any time on purpose, the same expence must be repeated.

But before we enter this sacred fabric, let us take a view of its outside. The church of the holy sepulchre, which pilgrims chiefly visit, stands upon Mount Calvary, and is about a hundred paces long, and sixty wide. To prepare this hill for laying the foundation of the church, the workmen were obliged to reduce it to the plain area, which was done by cutting away several parts of the rock, and elevating others: but particular care was taken, they tell you, that none of those parts of the hill should be diminished, or suffer any alteration, which were more immediately concerned in our Saviour's passion; and therefore that part of Calvary where he is said to have been fastened to the cross, and lifted up is left entire, being about twelve yards square. This spot of ground is considerably higher than the floor of the church, insomuch that there are one and twenty stairs to go up to the top of it; and the holy sepulchre itself, which at first was a cave hewn in the rock under-ground, may be now said to stand above-ground, the rock all round it having been cut away. At the West end of the church is a square tower or steeple, the top of which appears somewhat broken and ruinous; but the edifice in general is kept in good repair, and, considering what part of the world we are in, may be deemed sumptuous and magnificent.

All the pilgrims having entered the church on Good-Friday, the doors were locked in the evening, and opened no more till Sunday morning, during which agreeable confinement we had the pleasure of seeing all the ceremonies practised by the Latins at

this festival, and of visiting the several holy places in the church, all which we had an opportunity of surveying deliberately and without interruption. By *holy places* we are to understand such as are looked upon with more than ordinary veneration, and are reckoned peculiarly consecrated, by having some particular actions done in them relating to the sufferings, death, burial, and resurrection of our blessed Saviour. Of these there are above a dozen within this church, some of which are as follows: 1. The place where Christ was derided by the soldiers; 2. The place where they divided his garments; 3. The prison where he was shut up whilst they digged a hole to set the foot of the cross in, and prepared every thing for his crucifixion; 4. The spot where he was nailed to the cross; 5. Where the cross was erected; 6. Where the soldier stood who pierced his side with a spear; 7. Where his body was anointed in order for burial; 8. Where he was laid in the sepulchre; 9. Where the angels appeared to the women after his resurrection; 10. The place where he himself appeared to Mary Magdalen; and several others. All this is supposed to have been transacted within the narrow limits of this church, and the sacred places are still all distinguished and adorned with so many several altars.

In the galleries round the church, and in some little buildings on the outside adjoining to it, are apartments for the reception of the friars and pilgrims; and in these places almost every Christian nation formerly maintained a small society of monks, the Turks assigning each of them their particular quarter. There were Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Maronites, and several other

sects of Christians, but there are only three sorts remaining at present, who constantly reside here, namely, Latins, Greeks, and Armenians; all the rest having forsaken their apartments, not being able to bear the excessive rents and extortions imposed upon them by their Mahometan landlords; and the Armenians are reduced to such a low condition, and so much in debt to the Turks, that they will soon be obliged to leave their quarters.

Besides these distinct apartments, each fraternity has its respective altars and sanctuary for its own use, from which all other nations are excluded. But what has ever been the great source of contention between the several sects of Christians in this place, is the command and appropriation of the holy sepulchre, each claiming it as their property, and being desirous of having it in their own possession. The Greeks and Latins particularly have disputed the privilege of saying mass in this chapel with so much warmth, that they have come to blows, and wounded each other at the very entrance of the contested sepulchre*: but to put an end to these scandalous and unchristian quarrels, the French king interposed by a letter to the Grand Vizir about the year 1685; and in 1690 an order was obtained for

* “ An evidence of this fury, says Mr. Maundrell, the father-guardian of the Latin convent showed us in a great scar upon his arm, which he told us was the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest in one of these unholy wars. Who can expect (continues he) ever to see those holy places rescued from the hands of infidels? Or, if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them? seeing even in their present state of captivity they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity.”
Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 70, 71.

putting the holy sepulchre into the hands of the Latins, who since that time have had the sole privilege of saying mass in it, and solemnizing any public office of religion, though Christians of all nations are permitted to go into it to perform their private devotions.

The constant employment of the monks belonging to the church is to trim the lamps, and to make devotional visits and processions to the several altars and sacred places. Thus they spend many years of their life, and some of them, out of their abundant zeal, continue here to their dying day, entertained and transported with the pleasing contemplations naturally excited by this holy mansion. The Latins in particular, ten or twelve of whom constantly reside in the church with their president, make every day a solemn procession with tapers, crucifixes, and such-like apparatus, to the several sanctuaries, singing at every one of them a Latin hymn, suitable to their respective subjects; but at Easter, the time when pilgrims usually resort to Jerusalem, their duty is greater, and their ceremonies more numerous, than at any other season. As these Latins are more exact and regular in the discharge of their functions than the other monks residing at Jerusalem, and our conversation being chiefly amongst them, I shall only describe their manner of celebrating this festival, without taking notice of the ceremonies practised by the other Christians on the same occasion.

On Good-Friday night, called by the friars *Nox tenebrosa*, or the dark night, the solemnity begins, which has something in it so extraordinary as to deserve a particular description. In the evening, as soon as it grew duskish, all the monks and pilgrims

assembled in the chapel of the apparition, (a small oratory, so called as being the supposed place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen after his resurrection) in order to walk round the church in procession. Previous to this, however, one of the Latin fathers preached a sermon, during which the candles were all put out, to yield the more lively representation of what we were then commemorating. Sermon being ended, which lasted about half an hour, every one had a large lighted taper put into his hand, and all necessary preparations were made for beginning the procession. Among the crucifixes there was one of a large size, to which the image of our Lord, as big as life, was fastened with great nails, having a crown of thorns on its head, and being smeared with blood in such a manner that it very well represented the tragical spectacle of our Lord's body hanging on the cross. This figure was carried at the head of the procession, the company following, and singing different hymns at the appointed places.

The first place they stopped at was a little cell not far from the door of the chapel of the apparition, wherein is kept the pillar of Flagellation; and having sung a hymn proper to the cruelty here commemorated, another friar gave us a sermon in Spanish relating to the scourging of our Saviour. This pillar, or rather the piece of it here preserved, is near a yard in height, and is secured by an iron grate, so that nobody can touch it, though it may be viewed distinctly.

From hence we went, two and two, to the chapel of the prison, where they say our Lord was secured whilst things were getting ready for his crucifixion.

This is a little dark place, to which we descend by three steps; and belongs to the Greeks, who keep a lamp there continually burning. Here another hymn was sung, and a third friar preached in Italian.

Our next visit was to the chapel of the division of Christ's garments, which belongs to the Armenians; and here a hymn was also sung, but we had no sermon.

Having done here, the procession advanced to the chapel of Derision, wherein is an altar supported by two pillars, and underneath it is a piece of greyish marble, on which they say the soldiers placed our Saviour when they crowned him with thorns, and mocked him, saying, "Hail, king of the Jews;" from which mockery the chapel takes its name. Here we had another hymn, and a fourth sermon.

From this place they went up to Calvary by the stairs already mentioned, leaving their shoes at the bottom; and being come to the altar where our Lord is supposed to have been nailed to the cross, they laid down the great crucifix on the floor, and seemed busied in nailing the body to the cross; and, after the hymn, another friar preached a sermon upon the crucifixion. This chapel is covered all over with Mosaic work; and in the middle of the pavement there are some marble stones of several colours, designed to show the very place where our Lord's blood fell when his hands and feet were pierced. It belongs to the Latins, and has two altars, before which are sixteen lamps, and a candlestick with twelve branches.

From hence they removed into an adjoining chapel, separated from the former only by a curtain,

at the East end of which is the very place where our Saviour suffered. Here the rock rises half a yard higher than the floor, in form of an altar, ten feet long, and six or seven broad; and is covered with white marble. In the middle of this altar is a round hole, about seven inches in diameter, cut two feet deep in the natural rock, which is said to be the very same individual one, wherein the foot of our Lord's cross was fixed. It is now plated with silver, and the pilgrims thrust their arms into it, kiss and prostrate themselves upon it, and apply their beads and crucifixes to it, whereby they acquire, as is apprehended, an uncommon sanctity. On the right side of the place where our Saviour's cross stood, is that of the penitent thief that was crucified with him, and on the left hand that of the wicked thief, which are represented by two crosses fixed on little marble pedestals. Between the place of our Lord's cross, and that of the impenitent thief, is a remarkable cleft in the rock, which in all probability was made, as it is said to have been, by the earthquake that happened when the Son of God suffered*. That this is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by art, every one who sees it must needs be convinced; for the sides of it answer exactly to each other, even where they are inaccessible to the tools of a workman.

But to proceed to our devotion: in the hole above-mentioned they placed the great crucifix with the bloody image upon it, and, leaving it in that erect posture, they sung a hymn, after which, the guardian of the convent entertained us with a passion sermon. When this was ended, two friars, personating Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus,

approached the cross with great solemnity, and all imaginable concern in their looks; and, drawing the nails, they took down the bloody image, which was so contrived, that the limbs were flexible, as if it had been a real body; and it is no small surprise to strangers, to see the two fathers bend down the arms, which were extended upon the cross, and dispose them in such a manner as is usual in laying out a corpse.

The body being received in a large winding-sheet was carried down from Calvary, the whole company attending it to the Stone of Unction, which is taken to be the very place where our Lord's body was anointed and prepared with myrrh and aloes for the burial*. It is about seven feet long, and two feet broad, adorned all around with a chequered border of little white and red marble stones; and, to prevent its being trode upon, it is inclosed with iron rails. Here they laid down the imaginary corpse, and having thrown perfumes and spices upon it, they wrapped it in the winding-sheet, singing a hymn suitable to the occasion; after which one of the fathers preached a funeral sermon. The obsequies being thus finished, the feigned body was deposited in the sepulchre, and the door was shut; and the whole company, being pretty tired with this long ceremony, laid down to rest; for which purpose we had taken care to bring pillows and carpets along with us, and so slept very comfortably in a gallery belonging to the Latin fathers.

The next morning nothing passed worth mentioning, which gave us an opportunity of viewing several things about this church not yet described.

* John xix. 39.

Not far from the Stone of Unction, towards the East, there is a little chapel; and near the entrance on the right hand stands the sepulchre of Godfrey of Bouillon, which has a ridged roof over it, supported by four stone pillars; and on the marble is engraved the following epitaph in Gothic characters:

*Hic jacet inclitus Godefridus de Buglion, qui totam istam
terram aquisivit Cultui Christiano. Cujus anima
requiescat in pace. Amen.*

That is,

Here lies the renowned Godfrey of Bouillon, who established the worship of Christ all over this land. May his soul rest in peace. Amen.

On the left hand is the tomb of his brother Baldwin, of much the same form, and bearing the following inscription;

*Rex Baldewinus, Judas alter Machabæus;
Spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque;
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,
Cedar, et Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus;
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.*

In English to this effect:

Like Judas* zealous for his country's laws,
Baldwin, great champion in the Christian cause;

* This is meant of Judas Maccabæus, one of the sons of Matathias, who was made general of the Jews after his father, and gained many signal victories, but was at last slain in battle, being basely deserted by great part of his army. See his history in the first book of the Maccabees.

Whom Cedart, Egypt, and Damascus' land,
Dreaded, and served with tributary hand,
Pale death (the best, the mightiest monarch's
doom,)
Has here laid humble in a scanty tomb.

These were the two first Christian kings of Jerusalem; and as we go out of this chapel, we see four fine marble monuments on the right hand against the wall, where the children of Baldwin are interred; but the inscriptions upon them are not legible.

Towards the East end of the church, between the chapel of the Division of Christ's Garments and that of the Derision, there is a door, from whence we descend by thirty stone steps to the chapel of St. Helena, which is spacious, and has a dome over it, supported by four great pillars of white marble. These pillars, being always kept moist, and sometimes drops falling from them by the dampness of the place, the more superstitious Christians hereabout pretend that they weep for the death and sufferings of our Saviour. In this chapel are two altars, one of which is very large, all of marble, and has eighteen lamps burning before it; and on the right hand, near this great altar, is a marble chair, of an antique form, wherein the pious empress is said to have sat, while they were searching for our Lord's cross below.

From hence we descend, by eleven steps cut in the rock of Mount Calvary, into the chapel of the Invention of the Cross, an obscure vault, where they say our Saviour's cross was first discovered. This place,

† Part of Arabia, so called from Kedar, (Gen. xxv. 13.) and his children the Cedreni, descendants from Ishmael, who inhabited Arabia Petræa.

they tell us, was formerly a ditch at the foot of Calvary, called by the prophet Jeremiah the Valley of dead Bodies*; and that here the Jews threw the cross on which the Son of God suffered, and covered it with filth and rubbish. Here it lay buried till the time of Helena the mother of Constantine, who having had the place pointed out to her by a certain Jew, caused workmen to dig to a great depth, who at last found three crosses; but being at a loss how to distinguish the cross of Christ from those of the two malefactors, it is said the doubt was removed by a miracle; for a sick woman having touched both the crosses of the criminals without receiving the least benefit, was immediately cured of her disease by touching the real cross of our Saviour. The Jew, who had been the instrument of this discovery, and was an eye-witness of the miracle, became a convert to Christianity, and was afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, his name being changed from Judas to Quiriacus. We are told he suffered martyrdom in the reign of Julian the apostate, and was canonized after his death; but how much truth there is in all this fine story, I leave to the judgment of the reader. This is certain, that the third of May, the day on which the Invention of the Cross is supposed to have happened, is an ancient festival, and still continues to be observed by the church of Rome in memory of that discovery.

The choir of this church is pretty much like those of our cathedrals. At the West end it opens towards the door of the holy sepulchre, and to the East it terminates in a semi-circle, in which part stands their high altar, richly gilt, and hung round with the pictures of several saints, painted full faced after the

* Jerem. xxxi. 40.

manner of the Greeks, to whom the choir belongs. This is separated from the rest of the church by a wall, and has only three doors, one over-against that of the sepulchre, and one on each side towards the high altar. It is surrounded with large pillars, which support a dome of free stone over it, close at top, and rough-cast on the outside. Towards the West end of the choir, at an equal distance from each side of it, is a little hole in the pavement, which the Eastern Christians call the Navel or middle of the world, and really believe it to be so, grounding their opinion on a wrong interpretation of an expression in scripture, of "God's working salvation in the midst of the earth.*"

The nave or body of the church of the holy sepulchre is round, and has two circular galleries one above another, supported by large square pillars, formerly faced with white marble; but many of them have been robbed of that ornament. Between the top of the upper range of pillars and the extremity of the upright wall, are several Mosaic pictures in concave niches, representing divers prophets, apostles, and saints; and amongst them, on the South-side of the temple, is the effigies of the emperor Constantine, and opposite to it that of his mother Helena, the foundress of this venerable fabric. This part of the church is covered with another dome, sustained with rafters of cedar, having an opening at the top, like that of the Pantheon at Rome, through which it receives all the light it has, and which is full as much as is necessary. Exactly underneath this opening is the holy sepulchre; which, though once under-ground, as before observed, is now hewn into

* Psal. lxxiv. 12.

the form of a chapel, and stands considerably above the pavement of the church. Before we enter this sacred place, we pass over a little elevation, raised about a foot higher than the floor, on each side of which there is a seat or bank of white marble. From hence we pass into the Chapel of the Angel, because there they say the angel sat upon the stone, and told the woman that our Lord was risen†; but this stone, which was long preserved here, was conveyed some years ago, it seems, to the chapel of St. Saviour belonging to the Armenians. Out of this place we creep into the chapel of the holy sepulchre, the door of which is three feet high and two feet wide; and the whole grotto, if I may so call it, is about eight feet square, and as much in height, all cut out of the solid rock, but lined for the most part with white marble. On the right hand as we enter, which all do bare-footed out of regard to the sanctity of the place, is the tomb where our Lord was laid. It is also faced with marble, and raised in form of an altar almost three feet from the floor, extending the whole length and half the breadth of this little chapel; so that there is not room for more than three persons to kneel there without being very much crowded. There are three holes cut through the roof of this place, to give vent to the smoke of the lamps that are kept continually burning; and just over these holes is erected a small cupola covered with lead, supported by six double Corinthian columns, which look like porphyry. When it rains, the water falls through the opening in the dome of the church upon this

* Matth. xxvii. 1—6.

cupola, from whence provision has been made to carry it off. The chapel is surrounded on the outside by ten beautiful pillars of white marble, adjoining to the wall, and sustaining a cornice. The lamps that are always kept burning within make the place immoderate hot; however, the Latin priests endure it so as to say mass at the altar, which, as I observed before, is at present their peculiar privilege.

In the afternoon the congregation assembled in the area before the holy sepulchre, where the friars spent several hours in singing the Lamentations of Jeremiah and afterwards made the usual procession round the church, with which the ceremony of this day was concluded.

The holy sepulchre was set open very early on Easter-Sunday, and the fathers put on a face of joy, as if it had been the very time of our Lord's resurrection. Mass was celebrated in the morning just before the sepulchre, where the father-guardian had a throne erected, and being cloathed in episcopal robes, with a mitre on his head, he gave the host to all Christians that were disposed to receive it, several Turks standing by as spectators. This being over, a pretty large company, of which we made a part, went out of the church, and dined at the Latin convent.

After this refreshment, we spent the remainder of the day in viewing some of the remarkable places within the city, accompanied by one of the Latin fathers. We were conducted to see the palace of Pilate, or rather the place where it stood, for its room is now taken up by an ordinary dwelling-house. It is not far from St. Stephen's gate, which is on the

East side of the city; and from the terrace of this house we have a distinct view of the area where anciently stood the famous temple of Solomon. Indeed the only good sight we can get of it is from hence; for the Turks having inclosed it, and built a mosque there, a Christian is not permitted to go within its borders, without forfeiting his life, unless he has a mind to save it by renouncing his religion. To level such a spacious area as it appears to be, upon such a strong rocky mountain, must have cost incredible labour, but perhaps no place in the world is fitter for an august building. It lies on the top of Mount Moriah, over-against the Mount of Olives, the two Mounts being separated by the valley of Jehoshaphat. The Turkish mosque that is built in the middle of it is of an octagonal figure, supposed to stand upon the same ground that was formerly taken up by the Holy of Holies; and, though it is neither a large nor elegant structure, it makes a grand appearance merely by the advantage of its situation. On the South side of the area is another mosque, formerly the church of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin.

From this pretended palace of Pilate, which is now the residence of the sangiack, begins what the Christians call the Dolorous Way, that is, the way that our Lord was led from hence to Mount Calvary, the place of his crucifixion, which is about a mile distant. As we come out of the house there is a descent, where was anciently what they call the Scala Sancta, or Holy Stairs, which they say were carried to Rome by Constantine or his mother Helena. They obtained the name from our Saviour's having gone up and down them several times, and

particularly when he was conducted to the place of his passion. Not far from hence we passed under an old arch that crosses the street, on the East side of which there are two windows, separated only by a little marble pillar, where Pilate is said to have presented Christ to the people, saying, "Behold the Man." About a hundred paces farther we are shown the ruins of a church, built on the place where they tell you the Blessed Virgin fell into a swoon, when she saw our Lord bearing his cross and used despitefully. Fifty or sixty yards from hence is the place where they met with Simon the Cyrenian, and compelled him to bear our Saviour's cross, after he had fallen down several times under the heavy burden. Turning a little on the left hand, we are shewn the place where our Saviour said to the women, "Weep not for me, but for yourselves and for your children;" and over-against it, they say, stood the house of the rich glutton. Soon after this we came to the house of Veronica, who, seeing our Saviour's face smeared with sweat and blood, made way through the crowd, and wiped it with a white handkerchief on which our Lord, in testimony of his thankfulness for that charitable office, left the resemblance of his face miraculously stamped; which they say is still shown at St. Peter's in Rome on certain festivals. At some distance from this house we passed by the Gate of Judgment, through which malefactors were anciently led to the place of execution, and which stood in the Western wall of old Jerusalem, but is now considerably within the city. From hence we ascend the East side of Mount Calvary, which needs no farther description.

On Easter-Monday, the Mosolem, or governor of the city, set out with a body of four hundred horse and foot, according to annual custom, to convoy the pilgrims towards the river Jordan; for in this part of the Holy Land the Arabs are so powerful and insolent, that there is no travelling without such a guard. For this protection each Frank pilgrim pays twelve dollars, except the ecclesiastics, who pay but six; and finding ourselves obliged to pay this sum, whether we took the journey or staid in the city, we resolved to make a part of the company. We were in all about two thousand five hundred pilgrims, of every age, sex, and nation; some on asses, some on mules, and others on horseback. Going out at St. Stephen's gate, and having crossed the valley of Jehoshaphat and part of Mount Olivet, we came in half an hour to Bethany, which is at present but a small village. As soon as we enter it, we see an old ruin, which they call Lazarus' castle, supposed to have been his dwelling-house; and at the bottom of a little descent they show his sepulchre, wherein he lay when our Saviour raised him from the dead. This place is held in great veneration by the Turks, who use it as an oratory, and demand a small caphar of the Christians for being admitted to see it. Not far from hence we passed by the supposed habitation of Mary Magdalen; and then, descending a steep hill, we came to a well called the Fountain of the Apostles, because here, according to tradition, they used to drink and refresh themselves in their passage between Jerusalem and Jericho.

From hence we travelled through an intricate way among hills and valleys of a very barren aspect, but

discovering however sufficient signs of the industry of the ancient husbandmen. After some hours riding we came to a mountainous desart, in which, it is said, our Saviour was tempted by the devil. Looking down into a deep valley, we spied the ruins of some small cells and cottages, formerly inhabited by hermits, who indeed could not have chosen a more comfortless and desolate place, or more fit for the purposes of penance and mortification. But to make us some amends, the tops of these abandoned hills afforded us a delightful prospect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the plain of Jericho; into which last we descended after about six hours march from Jerusalem.

Turning up the plain on the left hand, and keeping that course for near an hour, we came to the foot of an exceeding high mountain called Quarantania, whither, they tell us, the devil took our Blessed Lord when he shewed him the kingdoms and glories of the world*. The ascent is not only difficult but dangerous; and yet there is a chapel on the top of it, and another about half way up; besides several caves or holes in the side of the mountain, formerly the residence of hermits, and still resorted to by some zealots, who keep their lent there, in imitation of the forty days fasting of our Saviour. Abundance of Arabs likewise shelter themselves in these caves, who have fire-arms, and generally oppose the passage of the pilgrims up the mountain, unless they purchase leave by paying their exorbitant demands.

Leaving this mountain, and having passed by the ruins of an aqueduct and a convent, we came to the fountain of Elisha, so called on account of its being

* Matth. iv. 8.

miraculously purged of its brackish taste by that prophet*. Its waters are received in a large bason, from whence they issue, and dividing themselves into several streams, are dispersed over the plain from thence to Jericho, and render it extremely fertile. A mile distant from hence stands Jericho, once a famous city, but now a mean village inhabited by Arabs, consisting of thirty or forty houses; near which the governor of Jerusalem, with his forces and the whole company of pilgrims, pitched their tents. Not far from our camp, they showed us an old square stone-building, which they told us was the house of Zachæus.

Jericho was a wealthy city, in the tribe of Benjamin, the first which Joshua took from the Canaanites, the walls of it falling down on the shouts of the Israelites, the sound of seven ram's horns, and the circumvection of the ark of the covenant; and no soul in it was spared, except the harlot Rahab and her family, who had been instrumental in saving the spies that had been sent by Joshua into the city; which was now burnt to the ground, and a curse pronounced against the man that should rebuild it†. In the days of Ahab, however, above five hundred and fifty years after, it was rebuilt by Hiel the Bethelite, who had the curse inflicted upon him according to Joshua's prediction‖. But we must not understand this in the strictest sense, as if there had been no such city as Jericho from Joshua to Hiel; for in Eglon's time we read of the city of Palm Trees§, which is the same; and of Jericho in David's days, who ordered his ambassadors to stay there till

* 2 Kings ii. 19. † See Joshua, chap. vi. throughout. ‡ Compare 1 Kings xvi. 34. with Joshua vi. 26. § Judges iii. 13.

their beards were grown again, which had been cut off by Hanun king of Ammon*. We may suppose, however, that it was inconsiderable till its restoration by Hiel, after which it grew famous on many accounts, and was ennobled by the Schools of the Prophets. In the time of the second temple this city yielded to none in all Judea, except Jerusalem; for it had a royal palace in it, where Herod the Great ended his days; an hippodromus, where the Jewish nobility were shut up, on purpose to be slain after his death; and an amphitheatre, where his will was publicly opened and read; with other stately buildings; but, at present we find scarce any token of its ancient grandeur.

We decamped very early on Tuesday morning, and proceeded directly to the river Jordan. The plain through which we passed was for the most part barren, producing nothing but a kind of samphire, and such-like marine plants. In several places of the road, where the water had settled, we observed the surface of the ground to be whitish; and upon a strict examination found it to be a thin crust of salt, with which mineral we concluded that the whole valley is plentifully impregnated, especially as these saline efflorescences were at some leagues distance from the Dead Sea.

Within a quarter of a mile of the Jordan we saw the ruins of a church and convent dedicated to St. John, in memory of his baptizing our Saviour; being founded as near as possible to the place where it is conjectured the Baptist had the honour of performing that sacred office. On the farther side of the convent there runs a small descent, supposed to be

* 2 Sam. x. 4, 5.

the first or outermost bank of the Jordan, to which the river formerly overflowed at certain seasons of the year, particularly in the month of March, and in the time of harvest. But perhaps these inundations are quite ceased, or are not so frequent as anciently, since we discovered no signs of any such thing when we were there, which was the beginning of April.

After this little descent, we walk upon a level for about a furlong, before we arrive at the present bank of the river, which is so covered with tamarisks, willows, and other trees and bushes, that it requires some pains to make way through them, and come at a sight of the water. The wood on the opposite side of the river seemed to be thicker than that on ours; and both of them are said to be a covert, as they were formerly, for lions and other beasts of prey*; but we neither saw nor heard any of those terrible creatures.

The friars having performed their service prescribed for this place, consisting of hymns, prayers, and some particular ceremonies, many of the company stripped and bathed themselves in the river, whilst others cut down branches of the trees that grew on the banks, some cut their names in the bark, some washed their linen in the river, some filled bottles with its water, and in short every one did something or other to preserve the memory

* These beasts being driven out of their covert by the overflowings of the river, as Mr. Maundrel observes, gave occasion to that allusion, Jer. xlix. 19. and l. 44. "He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan."

of his having visited the celebrated stream. For my part I contented myself with a view of the river, without going into it, for it is very deep, and so rapid that there is no swimming against it, besides that the water is thick and turbid, the natural consequence of its rapidity. As to the breadth of the Jordan, it fell short of our expectations, not being above twenty-five yards over, (though so near its influx into the Dead Sea) according to the nicest computation we could make.

The Jordan is not only rendered famous by the frequent notice that is taken of it in the holy scriptures, by the miracles of which it has been the scene, and especially by the baptism of our Blessed Saviour; but is in all respects by far the most considerable stream of this country, being sometimes called the River by way of eminence. The true source or head of the Jordan is now agreed to be the little lake called Phiala, near the mountains of Anti-Libanus. Josephus indeed makes mention of a lesser Jordan, whose fountain he places about Panion, while he derives the other, or greater Jordan, from Mount Libanus. However, he is not to be understood here as meaning two distinct rivers, but as dividing the same into two parts, which he denominates differently, and perhaps improperly, according to their distance from the original spring. To have a just idea of the course of this river, we must attend to the same historian, who tells us, that, taking its rise from Phiala, it runs under-ground for the space of a hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles; and, breaking forth at Panion, it makes its way through the Samachonite lake, from whence proceeding about fifteen miles farther, it flows

through the sea of Tiberias, and then holds its course through a vast and horrid desart, till it loses itself in the Dead Sea, or Lacus Asphaltites; thus extending itself, including the last mentioned sea or lake, from the Northern to the Southern boundary of the Land of Promise.

After the pilgrims had all performed what they were led to by curiosity or devotion, we were summoned by the mosolem from the banks of the Jordan into the middle of the plain, where he halted; and, having placed himself under his tent, he caused the whole company to pass before him, one by one, that he might take an exact account of us, and lose nothing of his caphar. Our turn being pretty soon over, several of us had a great desire to go and view the Dead Sea, whilst the rest of the pilgrims were mustered, which we perceived would take up as much time as would be necessary for our purpose. But as this excursion could not be attempted without the leave of the mosolem, we sent to desire his permission and a guard to attend us; both which he granted, though not without some difficulty, and we immediately prosecuted our design.

When we came within two miles of the sea, we found the ground very uneven, being full of little hills and cavities; but we were at a loss to account for the manner of their formation, unless they have been occasioned by sulphureous eruptions*. Upon

* This seems to be the opinion of Dr. Shaw, from whom I shall transcribe the whole passage relating to this piece of natural history. "I was informed, says he, that the bitumen, for which this lake (Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea) hath been always remarkable, is raised, at certain times, from the bottom in large hemispheres; which, as soon as they touch the surface, and so

the shore of the sea or lake we found abundance of small black pebbles, which are soon set on fire by being held in the flame of a candle, and yield a smoke intolerably stinking and offensive; but they have this remarkable property, that they only lose of their weight by burning, their bulk suffering no diminution. These stones are capable of being polished to as great a lustre as black marble, and are said to be found plentifully, and of a considerable size, in the neighbouring mountains.

The water of the Dead Sea is very clear, but is extremely salt, and withal bitter and nauseous; so that I do not at all wonder at the prevailing tradition, that no fish, or other animals, can live in it; though the truth of this has been called in question, on account of some shells, like those of oysters, having been discovered upon the shore. The saltness of this

“ are acted upon by the external air, burst at once, with a great
“ smoke and noise, like the Pulvis fulminas of the chymists,
“ and disperse themselves round about in a thousand pieces.
“ But this happens only near the shore; for in greater depths the
“ eruptions are supposed to discover themselves only in such co-
“ lumns of smoke, as are now and then observed to arise from
“ the lake. And perhaps to such eruptions as these we may
“ attribute that variety of pits and hollows which are found in
“ the neighbourhood of this lake, and compared very justly by
“ Mr. Maundrel to those places in England where there have
“ been formerly lime-kilns. The bitumen, in all probability, is
“ accompanied from the bottom with sulphur, insomuch as both
“ of them are found promiscuously upon the wash of the shore.
“ The latter is exactly the same with common native sulphur;
“ the former is friable, heavier than water, yielding, upon friction
“ or being set on fire, a fœtid smell. Neither doth it appear to
“ be, as Dioscorides described his Asphaltus, of a purplish colour,
“ but is as black as jet, and exactly of the same shining appear-
“ ance.” Shaw’s Travels, p. 374. 375.

water likewise makes it very strong, from whence it has been falsely reported, that it buoys men up to the top when they wade into it as high as their navels; but it is undoubtedly true, that a person may swim in it with a great deal of ease, his body being supported by the strength of the salt in an extraordinary manner. As to the other tradition, that birds attempting to fly over this sea drop down dead, being killed by its noxious vapours, we had ocular demonstration of its falsity. The bitumen, which is gathered hereabouts, is exactly like pitch, and hardly to be distinguished from it, but that it smells and tastes like sulphur.

This lake Asphaltites, called also the Dead Sea and the Salt Sea, is supposed to have been formed by the submersion of the vale of Siddim, where once, as is generally concluded, stood the five cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, Zeboiim, and Bela*. On this account it has been represented as a prodigious and everlasting monument of the just judgment of God, to deter mankind from committing those sins which brought upon Sodom, Gomorrah, and other cities, the number whereof is uncertain, such a terrible and total destruction. How this fine valley was turned into a lifeless disagreeable lake, we may form some notion to ourselves, by considering, that the soil of it was much of the same nature with that about the city of Babylon, abounding with bitumen and other combustible substances; and that “it was well watered every where before
“the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even
“as the garden of the Lord, like the land of E.
“gypt†.” Now it is reasonable to suppose, that

* Gen. xiv. 2, 8.

† Gen. xiii. 10.

the thunder and lightning; which were undoubtedly concerned in the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, falling in great abundance upon some pits of bitumen, the veins of that combustible matter took fire immediately; and as the fire penetrated into the lowermost bowels of that bituminous country, these wicked cities were subverted, by a dreadful earthquake, which was followed by a subsiding of the ground; and that, as soon as the earth was sunk, it would unavoidably fall out, that the waters, running to this place in so great abundance, and mixing with the vast quantity of bitumen, would form a lake of what was a valley before, and a lake of such qualities as it is at present known to possess.

Which way soever we account for this wonderful change, the origin of the Dead Sea has been generally dated from the destruction of the cities in the vale of Siddim. But though it appears a sort of rashness to call in question what has been so universally advanced and received among Christians, yet all this has been lately contradicted, not to say confuted, by the ingenious Reland; whose arguments are chiefly founded on scripture itself, though he finds no mean authorities elsewhere to support him in his opinion. To enter into a discussion of this point, would be too tedious, and inconsistent with our design; I shall therefore leave it to be examined by those who have more learning and leisure, and who may think it of sufficient importance to deserve their attention. Let me add, however, that none of our company, who carefully surveyed the surface of this lake as far as sight could reach, discovered any remains of those cities which were made such dreadful examples of the divine vengeance: but to infer

from hence, that there are no such ruins under water, or that the cities in question never stood upon the ground that is now covered by the lake, would argue the greatest weakness imaginable.

It is mentioned by Josephus as a wonderful circumstance, that the Dead Sea changes its colour three times a day; which some travellers have pretended to confirm: but this variety, if there be any truth in the report, is unquestionably owing to natural causes, and may be accounted for, with the help of a little optics, by considering the nature of its situation, and the soil of the adjacent country. As for the apples of Sodom, or infernal apples, mentioned both by Josephus and Tacitus as growing on the borders of this lake, described to be extremely fair and beautiful without, but all soot and ashes within; for my part, I saw no trees near the lake, on which such fruit might be expected to grow, and am apt to believe these apples had never any existence in nature, but were the produce of some superstitious or poetical imagination.

Lest the reader should think that I detain him too long upon the shore of this melancholy lake, I shall only add, that it is almost fourscore miles in length, and eighteen or twenty in breadth. To the South our prospect was unbounded, but on the East and West the lake is inclosed by exceeding high mountains. On the North it has the plain of Jericho, on which side it receives the waters of the Jordan; and though these of themselves are very considerable, besides several other streams that fall into it from the mountains, they occasion no sensible increase of the lake, notwithstanding it has no visible outlet, nor any known way of discharging the continual supplies

that are poured into it, unless by evaporation; and this single means perhaps will be found sufficient for that purpose, without having recourse to absurd or improbable conjectures*.

Returning from the Dead Sea, we came in an hour's time to an old Greek convent, reduced almost to a heap of ruins; but part of the church is still remaining, with several pieces of painting that have receiv-

* Let us see Dr. Shaw's sentiments on this head. "The Jordan, says the Doctor, is by far the most considerable river, except the Nile, that I have seen either in the Levant or Barbary: however, I could not compute it to be more than thirty yards broad, though this is in a great measure made up by the depth, which, even at the brink, I found to be three. If then we take this, during the whole year, for the mean depth of the stream, (which, I am to observe farther, runs about two miles an hour,) the Jordan will every day discharge into the Dead Sea about 6,090,000 tons of water. So great a quantity of water being daily received, without any visible increase in the usual limits of the Dead Sea, hath made some conjecture that it must be absorbed by the burning sands; others, that there are some subterraneous cavities to receive it; or else that there is a communication betwixt it and the Serbonic lake; not considering that the Dead Sea alone will lose every day near one third more in vapour, than what this amounts to. For, provided the Dead Sea should be, according to the general computation, seventy-two miles long and eighteen broad; then, by allowing, according to Dr. Halley's observation, 6914 tons of vapour to every square mile, there will be drawn up every day above 8,960,000 tons. Nay further, as the heat of the sun is of more activity here than in the Mediterranean sea, exalting thereby a greater proportion of vapour than what had been estimated by our professor; so the Jordan may, in some measure, make up this excess, by swelling more at one time than another; though, without doubt, there are several other rivers, particularly from the mountains of Moab, that must continually discharge themselves into the Dead Sea." Shaw's Travels, p. 373, 374.

ed very little injury, particularly one over the altar, which is a representation of our Lord's supper. In less than two hours more we rejoined our company, who were encamped upon the same ground we had possessed the night before; and here we reposed ourselves a second time, not a little fatigued with our day's journey, the sun having shone very warm, and the plain of Jericho affording no manner of shelter.

About Jericho there are several gardens, and plantations of date-trees*, which are watered by little streams flowing from the above-mentioned fountain of Elisha; but the most remarkable fruit of this place is a sort of green plum, which the Arabs call Zaccone. It grows upon a prickly shrub with narrow leaves, and resembles a small unripe walnut both in shape and colour. The Arabs pound the kernels of this fruit in a mortar, and then put them into scalding water; to the top of which, after it has stood some time, rises an oil, which they skim off carefully and preserve in bottles. This oil they esteem as a very valuable remedy, preferring it even to the Balm of

* It is very probable that the Holy Land formerly abounded with palm or date-trees much more than it does at present: Judea being represented on several coins of Vespasian's, by a disconsolate woman sitting under a palm-tree. The same tree is made an emblem of Neapolis (now Naplosa) upon a medal of Domitian's; and of Sepphoris, (the present Saffour) the metropolis of Galilee, upon one of Trajan's. Jericho seems to have been particularly famous for these trees, being called the city of Palm-Trees in Deut. xxxiv. 3. and other places of scripture: and they are still more cultivated about that city, than in any other part of the Holy Land; the climate of Jericho being warm, the soil sandy and well watered, and every way suitable to such plantations. See Shaw's Travels, p. 370, 371.

Gilead, either applied outwardly to green wounds, or taken inwardly for bruises. As for the roses of Jericho, of which so many wonderful things are reported, the season of the year did not afford us a sight of that curiosity. They are said to give ease to women at the time of delivery; to blow only on Christmas Eve, according to some; or on all the festival-days of the Blessed Virgin, according to others; with many other ridiculous notions, now generally exploded*.

On account of the heat of the weather, we decamped about three in the morning; and, returning by the same way we came, without any remarkable occurrence, we arrived in seven hours at Jerusalem. After we had dined at the Latin convent, we walked out through Damascus gate, in order to view some curiosities without the city. We were first conducted to a large grotto, said to have been anciently the residence of Jeremiah; and on the left side of it they showed us a shelve into the rock, about eight feet from the ground, which they tell us was the prophet's bed; and not far from thence is the cave where they say he wrote his Lamentations. This place is at present inhabited by a few Dervises, being held in great veneration by Turks and Jews, as well as by Christians.

From hence we were led to those famous grottos called the sepulchres of the kings, but of what kings is uncertain; for those of Israel and Judah, according

* Thevenot tells us these roses will not blow, except they are put into water; but in that case they will blow at all seasons. He also says he has seen them in the desarts about Mount Sinai; so that they are not peculiar to the plain of Jericho, as some have imagined.

to the holy scriptures, were buried in other places; unless we may conjecture that these are the sepulchres of the sons of David, in one of which Hezekiah is said to have been interred*. But leaving this uncertainty, the whole seems to have been an undertaking of such vast labour and expence, that it may well be presumed to have been the work of princes. Its entrance, which is cut out off the natural rock, faces the East, and admits you into an open court about forty paces square, hollowed out of the same rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls; and on the South side of the court is a portico, eight yards long and four broad, hewn out of the rock likewise. This portico has a kind of architrave in front, once adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, but now defaced; and at the end of it we descend on to the left hand towards the sepulchres. The passage into them being almost choaked up with rubbish, we creep through it with some difficulty; but our pains are rewarded with the sight of a fine room, seven or eight yards square, which is cut out of the rock like the former, with surprising exactness and regularity. From this we pass into six rooms more, one within another, all of the same workmanship with the first; but the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a descent into them of six or seven steps. In the sides of each of these rooms, the first excepted, are several niches, wherein the dead were deposited in coffins of stone; some remains of which are still to be seen, but not one of them entire.

We made no great stay in these damp and obscure places; but I must not forget to mention the doors of the chambers, which have puzzled and as-

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

tonished the most ingenious travellers. There is but one of them hanging at present, but this is sufficient to give us an idea of the rest. It is a large stone about six inches thick, and about the size of an ordinary door, carved in such a manner as to resemble two pannels of wainscot. The stone is evidently of the same kind with the whole rock; and the hinges, upon which it turns in the nature of axles, are of the same entire piece of stone with the door, and are contained in two holes of the immoveable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom. These doors were generally thought to have been cut out of the rock in the same place and manner as they hung; but by considering the hinges of those that are thrown down, the uppermost whereof are twice as long as the lower ones, and examining nicely into that which is now hanging, we may reasonably conclude, that these doors like others, were cut and fashioned before they were brought and fixed in their intended stations. After viewing these sepulchres, we retired to the French consul's, where we supped and took up our quarters.

The next morning we set out for Bethlehem, the place of our blessed Saviour's nativity, which stands about six miles South from Jerusalem. Going out at the Bethlehem gate, and turning on the left, we passed by the foot of Mount Zion; and a little to the right hand of our road we were shown the pool of Bathsheba, as they call it, supposed to be the same wherein she was washing herself when David spied her from the terrace of his palace*; though others refer this accident to another pool in the garden, just within the walls of the city. About two miles

from Jerusalem we came to a large turpentine-tree, standing by the side of the road, under the shade whereof the Blessed Virgin is said to have rested herself, when she was carrying our Lord in her arms to present him at the temple. Nothing less than a miracle, to be sure, can account for this tree's continuing fresh and flourishing for such a long succession of ages; but some say the real tree was set on fire long ago by the Arabs, which the monks hearing of, ran thither in all haste, and saved as much of it as they possibly could, whereof they still make chaplets and little crosses. Above a mile out of the road, to the Westward of this place, they show us an ancient tower, which they say was the habitation of good old Simeon, who took our Saviour in his arms, and sung his *nunc dimittis** in the temple. The next curiosity we meet with in our way is a well, where we are told the star appeared to the Eastern magi, at which they rejoiced exceedingly†. Half a mile farther stands a Greek convent, built like a castle, and dedicated to the prophet Elias, who they say was born in that place, and the impression of whose body they pretend to show in a hard stone, on which he used to take his repose. A little distant from hence we see a ruinous building, which they call Jacob's house, as believing it stands on the very spot where that patriarch had his habitation. Then on our left we are shown a piece of ground, where they pick up small round stones exactly resembling pease, concerning

* "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," &c. Luke ii. 29—32.

† Matth. ii 9, 10.

which they have a tradition, that the Blessed Virgin, going from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, found a man sowing pease, and begged a handful of him to relieve her hunger; which the rustic refusing to give her, and telling her they were nothing but stones, his words were immediately verified, all his pease being miraculously petrified in an instant: and the remains of these (as they fondly imagine them to be) are gathered up and sold to the superstitious pilgrims. After travelling another mile, we are shown the tomb of the beautiful Rachel; and perhaps this may be the true place of her interment, but we see nothing of the pillar which Jacob erected upon her grave*, the present sepulchral monument being evidently of modern structure. Not far from hence, a little on the left hand of the road, is what they call David's well, supposed to be the same that he so passionately thirsted after†, but it is rather a cistern than a well, supplied only with rain, and otherwise of no particular estimation. From this place we arrived at Bethlehem in a quarter of an hour, and were kindly received by the guardian of the Franciscan convent.

Bethlehem, anciently called Ephrath or Ephratah, a city of the tribe of Judah, is now dwindled to a small village, but ever memorable and renowned for being the birth-place of the Saviour of the world. On this account it is much resorted to by pilgrims; and the inhabitants, who are chiefly Greeks and Armenians, and who have their respective convents here as well as the Latins, get a tolerable livelihood by the sale of their crosses, chaplets, models of the sacred places, and such-like merchandise.

* Gen. xxxv. 19. 20.

† 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

The Latin convent is a spacious, but not an elegant building, consisting of several courts, accommodated with gardens, and surrounded by a strong wall, at the North-West corner whereof is an old ruined tower, which has formerly suffered much in defending the place. This monastery, as well as those of the Greeks and Armenians, is contiguous to a magnificent church built by the empress Helena over the supposed place of our Saviour's nativity. We enter this fabric through a portico sustained by sixteen marble pillars; and, coming into the nave or body of the church, we find its lofty roof, which is of cedar, supported by four rows of white marble pillars, ten in a row, whereby five aisles are formed, the middlemost being much wider than the rest. The choir is very large, terminating in a semicircle, where stands the high altar; and on each hand of the entrance into the choir are two other semicircular divisions, with their respective altars. This part of the church is covered with a noble cupola, leaded on the outside, and adorned within with Mosaic figures. Near the great altar are two little marble stair-cases, one on each side, having thirteen steps a-piece, by which we descend into the chapel of the Nativity. Here we find an altar, under an arched concave, with a representation of the nativity, before which several lamps are kept continually burning. In the middle of the pavement underneath the altar, which is of excellent marble, there is a glory of silver like the sun, with this inscription round it, *Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est*: that is, Here Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. From hence we go down by three marble steps into another little chapel, where they show us the manger in which our Lord was laid.

It is cut out of the natural rock, about two feet high from the floor, and is lined with white marble; in the veins whereof they fancy they discover the figure of an old man with a monk's hood on, which they will have to be the representation of St. Jerom, miraculously fixed in the stone, as a memorial of his piety and affection for the sacred manger. But, it seems, this is only a counterfeit manger which the good fathers show us at Bethlehem, the original wooden one having been long since carried from thence to Rome, where it is still preserved in the church of St. Mary Maggiore, if we may believe the accounts of the Christians in Europe.

From the chapel of the Nativity we were conducted along a narrow passage into that of the Innocents who were slain by the barbarous command of Herod. In the next place they showed us the sepulchre of Eusebius, and in a neighbouring chapel that of St. Jerom. A little farther, in the same chapel, is the tomb of St. Paula, a Roman lady, descended from the ancient families of the Gracchi and Cornelii, as appears from her epitaph. She founded four convents near this church at Bethlehem, one of monks, and three of nuns; herself being abbess of one of them for the space of twenty years. Some vestiges of one of these buildings are still to be discerned, and also of an hospital for pilgrims erected by the same pious lady, the ruins of which declare it to have been no mean structure. From St. Jerom's chapel we pass into an adjoining grot or cell, which they call his study, and where they tell us he spent most of his time for fifty years in translating the Bible. Returning into the above-mentioned chapel of the Innocents, we were led up stairs into the chapel of St.

Catharine, which belongs to the Latins, and from thence to our apartments in their convent.

We spent the next day in visiting the most remarkable places in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem; but first of all went to see the grotto of the Virgin, which is within forty yards of the convent, and is held in great veneration on account of a tradition they have, that herein the Virgin Mary hid herself and her divine Babe, to avoid the fury of Herod, whilst Joseph prepared all things necessary for their departure into Egypt. The grotto is round, cut out of a chalky rock, and has an altar in it, at which mass is sometimes celebrated by the Latins. The monks will not allow the whiteness of this place to be natural, but affirm it was miraculously occasioned by some drops of the Virgin's milk, which fell from her breast as she was suckling the infant Jesus. But this is not all; for, besides its whiteness, they tell you the chalk thereby acquired a wonderful virtue of increasing women's milk, and of recovering it when quite lost; and it is actually pulverized and taken for this purpose by the women hereabouts, Turks and Arabs as well as Christians; and, as they affirm, with very great success*. Over this grotto stood one of the nunneries built by the above-mentioned Paula, in which she ended her days; but nothing of it remains, except the foundation.

* Le Bruyn tells us, that the opinion of the virtues of this chalk prevails so generally, that lumps of it are carried to Jerusalem, and there impressed with the seal of the city, in order to be sent into Europe. He adds, that he met with a physician at Venice simple enough to ask him for some of it for a lady, a patient of his, who was defective in her milk.

Having viewed this grotto, we directed our course to those famous fountains, pools, and gardens, said to have been the contrivance and delight of Solomon, which lie about four miles South from Bethlehem. To these works this great king is supposed to allude, when, among other instances of his magnificence, he reckons his vineyards, gardens, and pools of water*. These pools are three in number, one above another, and so disposed, that the waters of the uppermost descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. They are of a quadrangular figure, each of them about ninety paces broad; but there is some difference in their length, that of the first being a hundred and sixty paces, of the second two hundred, and of the third two hundred and twenty. They contain a great quantity of water being very deep; and are lined round with a wall, (except where the natural rock makes it unnecessary) which is covered with a durable sort of plaster.

Near these pools is a pretty castle of modern structure, and at a little distance we came to the fountain from whence they principally derive their waters. The good friars, who have the history of all the remarkable places in this country at their fingers ends, pretend that this was the sealed Fountain, to which Solomon compares the holy spouse, when he says, "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed†." and to countenance this opinion, they have a tradition that Solomon actually kept the door of this fountain

* Eccles. ii. 4, 5, 6.

† Canticles iv. 12.

sealed with his signet, in order to preserve the water for his own drinking. The place, indeed, is capable of being thus secured; for the passage down to the waters is a narrow hole, through which we descend with some difficulty into a vaulted room or cave, about twelve yards in length and seven in breadth; and adjoining to this is another room somewhat less, but of the same fashion, the roofs of both being supported by stone arches, which have the appearance of great antiquity, and may possibly have been the work of Solomon himself. Here we discover three different springs, at which the water rises, and is conveyed into a small reservoir, from whence it flows down to the pools through a large subterraneous passage; but before it arrives there, part of the stream is received by an aqueduct of brick, and carried by many turnings and windings to Jerusalem.

Below the pools runs a narrow rocky valley, shut in on each side with very high mountains, where the friars have thought proper to place the inclosed garden, mentioned in the above-cited text of the Canticles. I shall not venture to affirm, that this conjecture is absolutely false; but if it be true, it must be acknowledged that Solomon displayed his wealth more than his wisdom, when he made fine gardens in such rocky ground, and so little adapted to such a design. As to the pools, they are probably the contrivance of Solomon, being a work not at all unworthy of that wise prince, and containing such a store of excellent spring-water, as perhaps cannot be equalled in any part of Palestine.

In our return towards Bethlehem, winding round

to the East, we were shown the cave where David is said to have cut off the skirt of Saul's garment*. From hence we went to the fields where the shepherds were watching their flocks, when the angel brought them the joyful tidings of the birth of our Saviour†; on which very place, as is supposed, the empress Helena built a church, which is now in ruins. Not far from the field is a little village where the shepherds are said to have dwelt; and in the middle of it is a well, which they say swelled miraculously up to the very brim to satisfy the thirst of the Blessed Virgin, when the churlish peasants refused to draw her any water. Having then spent the morning, we returned about twelve o'clock to the convent.

After dinner we took a walk to the Westward of Bethlehem, and having passed by the well that David thirsted after, as already mentioned, we came to the remains of an old aqueduct, which anciently conveyed the water from Solomon's pool to Jerusalem, and which is supposed, as it very well may, to be the work of that great monarch. It runs along the surface of the ground, and consists of large stones, a sort of coarse marble, perforated and let into each other after the manner of pipes; and, for their better preservation, covered over with a case or arch of smaller stones, firmly cemented together with a very strong mortar. In short, the work seems designed to have out-lived even time itself; but it has been so destroyed by the violent hands of the Turks and Arabs, that, though it formerly ex-

* 1 Sam. xxiv. 3, 4.

† Luke ii. 8, 12.

tended five or six leagues, there is only a fragment of it here and there remaining.

The next morning, having satisfied the guardian for the trouble we had given him, we took leave of Bethlehem very early, designing to visit the wilderness and convent of St. John the Baptist, and from thence to return to Jerusalem. We had not gone far from Bethlehem before we crossed part of a valley, where they tell you the angel of the Lord slew in one night a hundred and eighty-five thousand of Sennacherib's army*. In half an hour from hence we came to Bootishella, a village situated upon a little hill, and inhabited solely by Christians, the Turks not daring to dwell there, on account of a report which is universally believed amongst them, that no Mahometan can live in it above eight or ten days. Where strength is wanting, art must be used; and in this instance the Christians have out-witted the Turks, who, weak enough to believe there may be truth in the story they have spread abroad, leave the village to them without any molestation.

Leaving this village, we came in an hour's time to the fountain where they tell us that Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch; but two reasons induce me to believe that this is not the place where that ceremony was performed: first, the road is very steep and craggy, and scarce passable for a man on horseback; and appears to be much less so for a chariot, such as the eunuch rode in, or any wheel carriage whatsoever. Secondly, the spring is very shallow and inconsiderable, scarce affording water enough to reach one's an-

* Kings xix. 35.

cles; and therefore cannot reasonably be supposed to be the place where Philip and the eunuch went both into the water*, according to the scripture account of the matter; unless we may conjecture that the baptism in question was performed in a bason or reservoir at some distance below this fountain, wherein the little rill that flows from it is at present received.

Not far from this spring is what they call the village of St. Philip, where we ascended a steep hill, and entered St. John's wilderness, which we found to be a very rocky and mountainous country, but neither so barren nor uncultivated as the name† had given us reason to expect. Having travelled an hour in this wilderness, we came to the fountain and cave of the Baptist, where he is said to have lived with great austerity till he entered upon his ministry. Near this cave, which is on the North side of a rugged mountain, grew several trees, which the friars call locust-trees, and pretend that the fruit of these was part of St. John's sustenance: but what the locusts really were, on which the scripture tells us the holy Baptist fed, I leave to the learned to determinet.

* Acts viii. 38.

† A wilderness, among the Jews, did not always signify a place wholly void of inhabitants; but a place that was more mountainous, less fruitful, less peopled, and where the habitations were more dispersed, than in other parts of the country.

‡ There is no necessity for running into criticisms about this diet of the Baptist, whether it was fowl, or fish, or herbs, or wild pease, (for the word which in our translation is rendered locusts has been made to signify all these) since it is notorious, that lo-

From this cave we proceeded towards the convent of St. John, passing along the valley of Elah, where David slew Goliah, the champion of the Philistines, who had proudly defied the armies of Israel*. We had likewise in sight a village called Modon, or Modin, memorable for being the burying-place of the Maccabeest†, those valiant defenders of their country. Before we came to the convent, we turned a little out of the road to a place which they call the house of Elizabeth, the mother of the Baptist; where there was also a monastery formerly, and a church built by the empress Helena, both now in ruins; nor do they show us any thing remarkable here, except a grotto, wherein they tell us the Blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth, and pronounced her divine magnificat‡, which is therefore frequently sung in this place by the pilgrims with great devotion.

About half a mile from hence stands the convent of St. John, a modern structure, having been built the latter end of the last century, upon the ruins of cists, in the most obvious and usual sense of the word, were creatures which the Levitical law looked upon as clean, and allowed the Jews to eat, (Levit. xi. 22.) and that they were a common food, as the ancients affirm, in Africa, Persia, Syria, and Palestine itself. This seems confirmed by the accounts of modern authors, who tell us that in some places locusts are brought to market in large quantities, and purchased by the common people; and that they are frequently seen upon the banks of the river Jordan, of the same form as ours, but much larger; and being either fried in oil, or dried in the sun, are accounted a good sort of food.

* See 1 Sam. xvii. throughout. † 1 Macc. ii. 70.

‡ Luke i. 46. "My soul doth magnify the Lord," &c. to the end of the 55th verse.

a former convent, and on the place where the Baptist, is supposed to have been born. It is a large square building, remarkably neat and uniform; but it is much exceeded by its church, which is eminently beautiful. This church consists of three isles, and has a handsome cupola in the middle, underneath which is a curious Mosaic pavement, equal to any thing of that kind performed by the moderns, and perhaps surpassing the ancients themselves. At the upper end of the North isle we descended by several marble steps to a sumptuous altar, erected over the very spot where they say Elizabeth was delivered of the holy Baptist. Considering the poverty of the Christians in these parts, and the large sums demanded of them by the Turks for permission to build fabrics of this nature, together with their continual extortions afterwards, it is suprising how the friars have found means to raise this elegant structure, which undoubtedly has been a very expensive work, as they themselves take care to let strangers know, in order to excite their compassion and liberality.

In our way from hence to Jerusalem, we paid a visit to the convent of the Holy Cross, belonging to the Greeks, who treated us with great civility. It is a strong and yet neat structure, and enjoys an agreeable situation. The church belonging to it is not without its beauties, having a handsome dome, and being adorned, like that of St. John, with a Mosaic pavement. But nothing relating to it is more remarkable than the reason of its name and foundation; which is, because here is the very hole to be seen, wherein stood the root of the tree that

yielded the timber to make the cross on which our Saviour suffered: and here the pilgrims frequently prostrate themselves and kiss the ground, with all possible expressions of zeal and devotion; a flagrant instance, among many others, of the credulity and superstition of these poor people, who thus expose Christianity to the derision of infidels. From this convent we returned in about half an hour to Jerusalem.

We arrived just soon enough to see a ceremony kept up by the Greeks and Armenians every Easter-eve, on which day they pretend that all the lamps and candles in the holy sepulchre are lighted by a miraculous flame from heaven; and the pilgrims of those nations; who are always very numerous, pay money to their priests for being admitted to this solemnity. Some of the Latins also go thither out of curiosity; and the Turks themselves come in great numbers, as people do to a play-house, for their amusement and diversion. Fearing lest we should be too late, we did not stay to take any refreshment after our journey, but made all possible haste to the church of the holy sepulchre, which we found crowded with a vast and distracted assembly, inso-much that we had some difficulty to make our way to the gallery belonging to the Latins; where, however, we got places at last, and from thence had a distinct view of almost every thing that passed on this occasion.

All the lamps in the church being previously extinguished, they began this frantic ceremony about twelve o'clock, by running swiftly round the holy sepulchre, howling, roaring, and making a most

hideous clamour, very improper for the place they were in, and fitter for the celebration of the feasts of Bacchus than a Christian solemnity. Having thus worked themselves up to a degree of madness, they fell to acting the most antic tricks imaginable, dragging some along the floor, and carrying others upon their shoulders round the sepulchre. Sometimes they took men with their heels upwards, and pulled them about in that indecent manner; and then, letting them fall designedly, burst out into laughter; whilst others showed postures, and tumbled, as if they had been upon a mountebank's stage. In a word, nothing can be conceived more wild and extravagant, than what was acted in this religious frenzy.

The tumult continued from twelve to three in the afternoon, when a Greek archbishop, in a splendid patriarchal habit, (as representing their patriarch, who was not at that time in Jerusalem) advanced at the head of the clergy of that communion, and began a procession round the holy sepulchre, being immediately followed by the principal bishop of the Armenians, wearing a mitre after the Latin fashion, and the other bishops and priests of that nation; and all this accompanied with the pomp of streamers, standards, crucifixes, and embroidered vestments. Having marched in this order three times round the holy sepulchre, the representative of the patriarch and the chief Armenian bishop entered into it, and shut the door after them; all the lamps and candles within having been before extinguished in the presence of the Turks and other witnesses, to render the fraud the less suspected. As the miracle drew nearer

its accomplishment, the shouts of the people were doubled; and every one pressed so violently towards the door of the sepulchre, that the Janizaries, who were appointed to guard it, could not keep them off without the greatest difficulty. When the two prelates had staid about a minute in the sepulchre, they both came out with blazing torches in their hands; at which sight the company grew quite ungovernable, and thronged about them in such numbers to light their respective tapers at this holy flame, that the Janizaries were obliged to lay about them on all hands with their staves, knocking off the caps of the Greeks, and breaking their heads to prevent their crowding so vehemently: but their zeal made them insensible of the blows they received, every one being desirous of catching the sacred fire as soon as ever it was brought out of the sepulchre, the first being esteemed the purest, as coming immediately from heaven.

At length the Greek archbishop and the Armenian prelate were pretty well freed from the crowd, who dispersed themselves about the church as they got their tapers lighted; and, so many hands being employed, every part of it was presently illuminated. But the frenzy did not end here; for many of the zealots applied the holy fire, as it is called, to their faces, arms, and bosoms, upon a supposition that it would not burn like an earthly flame; but one might easily perceive, that the experiment soon convinced them of their mistake. They now played several of their pranks over again, and some new ones as foolish as any of the former; one man running full-speed round the sepulchre with a drum at his back, whilst

another followed him and beat upon it, whose place was instantly supplied by a third as soon as he was weary. In a short time, however, the noise and confusion abated; and we observed men and women, in several parts of the church, opening large pieces of linen, making crosses upon them with lighted tapers, and smearing them with the melted wax; and this cloth they preserve for winding-sheets for themselves and their friends, fondly imagining that a shroud, to which the virtue of this heavenly fire has been communicated, will be a certain security against the flames of hell itself.

We have no occasion to puzzle ourselves in accounting for the manner in which this pretended miracle is performed*, since every body knows, that a flint and steel, or a little phosphorus, would easily do the business. Besides, we are credibly informed, that many years ago the Turks themselves discovered the cheat, and would have punished those who carried it on, but that the patriarch represented to

* Mr. Maundrell acknowledges, that when he saw this ceremony the fire was kindled in the sepulchre with great quickness and dexterity; but says, that the behaviour of the rabble in the church very much discredited the miracle. "The Latins (continues he) take a great deal of pains to expose this ceremony as a most shameful imposture, and a scandal to the Christian religion; perhaps out of envy, that others should be masters of so gainful a business: but the Greeks and Armenians pin their faith upon it, and make their pilgrimage chiefly upon this motive; and it is the deplorable unhappiness of their priests, that having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it, for fear of endangering the apostasy of their people." *Journey from Aleppo, &c.* p. 97.

them, that he could not possibly pay them the money required of him, if they deprived him of the profit of the holy fire; and therefore the Christians were permitted to continue the imposture.

The next day, (April 14,) being our own Easter-Sunday, we did not stir abroad, but spent the morning in our private devotions, and dined with the French consul. After dinner we drank several bottles of excellent wine, the produce of the vineyards in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, for I cannot but acknowledge, that though the vine is not cultivated and improved as it might be in this country, yet the small quantity of wine that is made about Jerusalem and Hebron is equal in goodness to any that we met with in the Levant.

On Monday morning we walked out to see some more of the remarkable places in and about the city, which we had not yet visited. The first place we came to was St. Peter's prison, as they will have it to be, from which he was delivered by the angel*; and it is still put to its primitive use. About a furlong from thence we were shown an old church, which belongs to the Greeks, said to have been built by the empress Helena, upon the ground where anciently stood the house of Zebedee; who they tell you was a fisherman, and used to bring fish from Joppa to Jerusalem. A little farther to the South is the place where, they say, stood the iron gate that opened of its own accord when the angel was conducting Peter out of prison: and very near it we see a small church belonging to the Syrians, said to

* Acts xii. 7.—10.

have been built where the house of Mark stood, to which the apostle went immediately after his miraculous deliverance. They boast of having in this church a Syriac manuscript of the New Testament about nine hundred years old, and a little stone font made use of by the apostles themselves. In the same street there is a building, which, according to tradition, has been put to various uses; being originally the house of St. Thomas, afterwards a Christian church, and at present a Turkish mosque.

Passing into the next street we are shown the place where our Lord appeared after his resurrection to Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, according to St Matthew*, though the friars have added a third Mary to the number. Turning from hence to the left we come to the convent of the Armenians, who enjoy here a very large and pleasant piece of ground, their houses and gardens taking up all that part of Mount Zion that is at present within the walls of the city. Their church is built over the place where they say St. James the brother of John was beheaded by the command of Herod†. In this church are two very splendid altars, adorned with rich mitres, embroidered copes, crosses, crowns, chalices, and a vast number of other sacred utensils both in gold and silver. But its greatest ornament, in my opinion, is its pulpit, which is made of tortoise-shell and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy over it of the same structure; the whole so exquisitely performed, that the workmanship far surpasses the materials. There is also a chapel in

* Matth. xxviii. 1—10.

† Acts xii. 1, 2.

this church, wherein they show us three great stones, which are reckoned of extraordinary value; one of them being the stone on which Moses broke the two tables*, provoked at the idolatry of the Israelites in worshipping the golden calf; another being brought from the place of our Saviour's baptism, and the third from that of his transfiguration.

A little to the Westward of this convent we come to another small church, likewise in the hands of the Armenians, supposed to have been anciently the house of the high-priest Annas, or at least to have been built upon the same spot of ground. Within the church they show us a hole in the wall, made there to denote the place where a certain officer (whom the friars will have to be Malchus) smote our Blessed Lord with the palm of his hand†. In the court before the church there is an olive-tree, to which they tell us Christ was chained by order of Annas, to prevent his making his escape.

From hence we went out of the city by the gate of Zion, near which stands another little chapel belonging also to the Armenians, said to have been formerly the house of Caiaphas. Under the altar of this chapel they pretend to show us the very stone that Joseph rolled to the door of our Saviour's sepulchre, which was a long time kept in the Church of the Sepulchre, but was some way or other conveyed hither by the Armenians. It is near seven feet long, three feet broad, and a foot thick; so that Joseph must have been a pretty strong man, if we suppose him to have tumbled it along without any

* Exod. xxii. 19.

† John xviii. 22.

assistance. To preserve it the better, it is all covered over with plaister, except in a few places, which are left bare to receive the devout kisses of the pilgrims. Here is also shown a little cell, wherein they say our Lord was imprisoned for some time, before he was carried from hence to Pilate; and we saw an orange-tree, which they tell us grows upon the very spot where St. Peter stood to warm himself, when he thrice denied his Master.

Not far from hence is a Mahometan mosque, formerly the church of the Coenaculum, where they say our Saviour celebrated his last supper with his apostles; but the Turks will not allow the inside of it to be seen by Christians. Hard by we see the ruins of a house wherein the Blessed Virgin is supposed to have died; and going down the hill Eastward they show us the place where a Jew would have taken away her corps, as the apostles were carrying it to the grave, but had his hand withered for making the impious attempt. Still lower down the hill we come to a grotto, to which St. Peter is said to have retired after he had denied his Lord, and there to have bitterly lamented his shameful inconstancy.

We entered the city again at the Dung-Gate, and keeping close by the wall on our left, we were conducted into a garden at the foot of Mount Moriah, and there shown several large vaults, running underground for fifty or threescore yards. They form two isles, being arched at top, and sustained by tall pillars consisting each of one single stone, two yards in diameter. It is not easy to determine for what use they were originally designed, unless we may

conjecture from Josephus, that they were made to enlarge the area of the temple, some such work as this being seemingly described by that historian*. From hence we returned to the convent, where we spent the remainder of the day in agreeable conversation.

The next morning we made a small excursion out of the gate of Bethlehem, turning down on the left hand by the castle of the Pisans, so called because built by those people when the Christians were masters of Jerusalem. Having passed by Bathsheba's pool, which has been already taken notice of, we entered the valley of Hinnom, on the West side whereof is the place anciently called the potter's field, and afterwards Aceldama, or the Field of Blood†, because it was purchased with the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the innocent blood of our Saviour; but at present it is called the Holy Field, on account of the veneration it has obtained amongst Christians. It is a small piece of ground, about thirty yards in length, and half as much in breadth, and is now the burying-place of the Armenians. One half of it is taken up by a square fabric, almost twelve yards high, on the top of which are five openings in the form of cupola's, large enough to let down a corpse into it, the flesh whereof this ground is said to consume in eight and forty hours; but for my part I give no credit to the report‡, though attested by

* Antiq. Jud. Lib. XV. cap. ult. † Matt. xxvii. 7, 8. and Acts i. 19.

‡ Mr. Sandys acknowledges his belief of this account, induced thereto by the small dimensions of the place, the great number of burials there, and the multitude of bones that are piled about it:

most of the Christians about Jerusalem. The earth hereabouts is of a chalky substance.

Descending a little from this field we come to an intricate cave hewn out of the rock, consisting of several rooms one within another, in which the apostles are said to have concealed themselves, when they forsook their Master, on his being apprehended in the garden†. This cave was perhaps originally made for a sepulchre, and might afterwards serve for an hermitage; but, however that be, it is evident that it was anciently adorned with painting and gilding, and some pretend still to discern the pictures of several of the apostles. Not far from this cave the valley of Hinnom terminates, losing itself in that of Jehoshaphat; along which latter valley runs the brook Cedron, though it does not deserve the name of a brook much above half the year, being generally quite dry in the summer season.

The first thing that occurs in the valley of Jehoshaphat is the well of Nehemiah, or rather a dry pit, said to be the same place from which that restorer of Israel recovered the fire of the altar, which had there lain hid during the time of the Babylonish captivity‡. In the next place we are shown a tree, where they tell us the prophet Isaiah was sawn asunder; but Mr. Maundrell says, that looking through the holes at top, he could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; from which he conjectures, that this grave does not make such a quick dispatch with the corpse committed to it, as is commonly reported.

† Mark xiv. 50.

‡ 2 Maccab. i. 19—22.

der by order of Manasseh*. And a little farther, on the same side of the valley, is the pool of Siloam, whither our Saviour sent the blind man to wash, after he had anointed his eyes with earth and spittle†. About a furlong from hence is the fountain of the Blessed Virgin, so called from I know not what tradition; the water whereof is very good, but we must descend a great many steps to come at it, the spring lying deep in the cavity of a rock. Over-against this fountain, on the other side of the valley, is a village called Siloe, where they tell us that Solomon kept his strange wives; and above the village is what they call the Mountain of Offence, because that wise prince was prevailed upon by his wives and concubines, in his declining years, to commit idolatry there, erecting altars, and sacrificing to the gods of the Moabites, Ammonites, and other nations‡. Not far distant from the same village, they show us the place where Judas hanged himself after he had betrayed our Saviour; and a little farther, on the same

* The story of Isaiah's death is, that Manasseh made an idol which had four faces, and ordered it to be worshipped; and when this prophet endeavoured to dissuade him from such an idolatry, he ordered him to be tied between two beams, and so sawn asunder. This was an old tradition among both Jews and Arabians; and St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, reckoning that of being sawn asunder among the torments undergone by the prophets and martyrs of foregoing times, he is generally thought to have referred hereto, especially because we know of no other instance to which he can refer. Prideaux's Connection, Vol. 1. p. 40. and Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 652.

† John ix. 6, 7.

‡ 1 Kings xi. 4—7.

side of the valley, we come to several Jewish monuments, two whereof are really noble antiquities, which they call the sepulchre of Zachary, and the pillar of Absalom.

The sepulchre of Zachary, supposed to be the same who was slain between the temple and the altar, is all cut out of the natural rock. It is of a quadrangular form, about eighteen feet high, and beautified with doric columns of the same entire stone, which support the cornice; and above that the roof rises in the shape of a pointed diamond. Close to this is a grotto, whither they say St. James retired before our Saviour's passion, and continued there without eating or drinking till after his resurrection. The pillar of Absalom is sometimes called his tomb or sepulchre; and indeed it seems improperly termed a pillar of which it bears no resemblance. However, he was not buried here; but it is imagined that he caused this monument to be hewn out of the rock (for so it is) in his life-time, to preserve the memory of his name, after the death of his male issue†. The work is lofty, of a square form at bottom, and adorned with doric pilasters on its sides and corners; but after running up a little way in that shape, it changes into a round, and terminates in a point, the top of it being almost in fashion of a bell. A great many stones lie near this monument, and the number daily increases, being thrown at it by Turks and Jews, as well as Christians, whenever they pass that way, in detestation of Absalom's rebellion against his father David.

* Compare 2 Sam. xiv. 27, with xviii. 18.

Close by the pillar of Absalom is the sepulchre of Jehoshaphat, from whence the whole valley takes its name. On the opposite side of the valley, upon the edge of the hill, the wall of the city runs along, from whence there is a stump of a pillar jutting out, upon which the Turks have a tradition that Mahomet shall sit in judgment at the last day, and that all mankind shall be assembled in the valley below, to receive from his mouth their final sentence. And not only the Turks but the Jews, and even some Christians too have supposed the valley of Jehoshaphat to be the place of the last and general judgment, from some mistaken expressions of the prophet Joel*.

Keeping still in the bottom of the valley, we come to the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin, made as we find it by the pious mother of Constantine. That part of it which is above ground is a square building, flat at top; and on the south side of it is a door, from whence we descend by a fine flight of stairs, about fifty in number. Near the middle of the descent are two opposite chapels: in that on the right hand is the sepulchre of Anne the mother of the Blessed Virgin, and on the left that of Joseph her husband. At the bottom of these stairs we come into a spacious court, stretching East and West, wal-

* "The notion is very extravagant, (says Mr. Stackhouse) "that when our Saviour returns again he will judge the world "in this valley, merely because the prophet Joel hath said, (Chap. iii. 2.) "I will gather all nations, and will bring them into the "valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them for my people;" "for what is there called the valley of Jehoshaphat is "not a proper but appellative name, and denotes no more than "the judgment of God." History of the Bible, p. 708.

led on each side, and arched above with the natural rock. About the middle of the church is a little chapel four yards square, covered with white marble both within and without; and opposite to the door is the Virgin's tomb, in form of an altar, where they say she was decently buried by the apostles. Eighteen lamps are kept continually burning here, partly at the charge of the Christians, and partly of the Mahometans, who hold this place in great veneration, and have a little oratory on the South side of it, to which they resort for their private devotions. Each end of the church is formed like a semicircle, in one of which stands the great altar, the light descending upon it from a cupola above, there being no other entrance for it into this church, except down the stairs already mentioned. At the other end is a well of very good water, and behind that an altar, formerly belonging to the Abyssines, but now scarce ever used. The Turks are masters of this church, and make the Christians pay for their admittance.

Leaving this place, and ascending the hill towards the city, we were shown a large flat stone by the side of the road, on which they say St. Stephen suffered martyrdom. At a little distance there is a grotto, into which they say the Jews cast his body, after they had satiated their fury upon him by stoning him to death. They also show us the place where they say the Virgin Mary stood and beheld this cruel tragedy, praying all the while to God to give the holy man patience and constancy to undergo his sufferings. The stones hereabouts are some of them of a reddish hue, which the credulous pilgrims are made to believe was occasioned by their being

stained with the martyr's blood. Mounting a little higher, we entered the city at St. Stephen's gate, so called from its vicinity to the place of his martyrdom, and from thence returned directly to the Latin convent.

In the morning we set out again towards the same gate; near which we were shown the pool of Bethesda, lying close to the area of Solomon's temple. It is at present entirely void of water, being nothing but a pit or cavity about a hundred and eighty paces long, forty broad, and eight or nine in depth. At the West end of it one may discern some old arches, now choaked up, which some will have to be the porches where the multitude of blind, lame, and impotent persons lay, waiting for the moving of the water; but the porches being five according to St. John, (ch. v. 2.) and the present arches but three, the conjecture is thereby destroyed.

A little way North from St. Stephen's gate, they show us the nunnery of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, which was founded here, and a church built by the empress Helena. The church is large and entire, as is also a part of the cloyster; but both of them are forsaken and neglected, except by people who are led hither out of curiosity or devotion. Underneath the church they show the very house or grotto where St. Anne dwelt, consisting of two rooms, in one of which is an altar, standing on the spot where it is said the Blessed Virgin was brought into the world.

Going out at the above-mentioned gate, we crossed the valley of Jehoshaphat, in order to visit the remarkable places upon Mount Olivet, or the Mount

of Olives. This is the loftiest eminence in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and overlooks the highest part of that city, from which it is about a mile distant. In some respects it may claim a preference before all the other mountains of the Holy Land, as it is actually held in special veneration by the Christians for what was there wrought and transacted by our Saviour, and particularly for his ascension from thence into heaven; nor is it much less revered even by the Mahometans themselves, if there be no reason to suspect their sincerity. The soil of this mountain is naturally good, and would be very fertile if properly cultivated; the West side of it, neglected as it is, being here and there adorned with olives, almonds and fig-trees.

Having climbed above half way up the hill, we come to several grottos, cut like a labyrinth underground, which are called the sepulchres of the prophets. A little higher is a grotto or subterraneous church, consisting of twelve arched vaults, wherein they tell us the apostles compiled the creed which at present bears their name. About fifty yards from hence we are shown the place where our Blessed Lord is said to have wept over Jerusalem, and pronounced his prophecy concerning the destruction of that city*: and a little to the right, they tell us, he dictated the Pater-Noster a second time to his disciples†, probably some of the Seventy, who were not present when he delivered his excellent sermon on the Mount, wherein he first of all laid down that form of prayer. Somewhat higher is the cave or

* Luke xix. 41—44.

† Luke xi. 1—4.

cell of St. Pelagia, a famous courtesan of Antioch, who, being converted, retired hither unknown in the habit of a hermit, and spent the remainder of her days, her sex not being discovered till after her decease. Here they also show us a pillar, which they say preserves the remembrance of the place where the Blessed Virgin was forewarned by an angel of her approaching death.

We are now arrived at the top of the hill, the place from whence the Saviour of the world ascended into heaven; in honour of which glorious triumph the pious mother of Constantine caused a magnificent church and monastery to be here erected, the greatest part of which is now in ruins. There still remains, however, a little octogonal chapel, covered with a cupola, sustained on the outside by eight pillars of white marble. Within this chapel they pretend to show you the print of one of our Saviour's feet in the natural rock, and tell you that the impression of the other was likewise to be seen there some time ago, but has been cut away and removed by the Turks into their mosque upon Mount Moriah, where they preserve it with great veneration. This Chapel of the Ascension, as it is called, is in the hands of the Turks, who make use of it as a mosque, and oblige the Christians to pay a small matter for being admitted into it, and kissing the sacred footstep. Many other holy places about Jerusalem are also in the possession of the infidels; but whether they keep them out of real devotion, as they pretend to do, or only for the sake of exacting money from the poor Christians, I shall not venture to determine.

About a quarter of a mile from hence to the North-

ward, on another summit of Mount Olivet, (for it has three, the middlemost whereof is that of the ascension) there was formerly a high tower, erected in memory of the two angels appearing to the apostles after our Lord's ascension*, and accosting them, "Ye men of Galilee," &c. from whence the tower itself was called Viri Galilæi. This monument was standing till about the year 1695, when it was demolished by a Turk who had purchased the ground it stood upon. From hence we have a fine prospect of Jerusalem and the adjacent country.

We descended the Mount by another road, and towards the bottom of it were shown a great stone, upon which they say the Blessed Virgin let fall her girdle after her assumption, in order to convince St. Thomas of the truth of it, which he is said to have doubted. Upon this stone there is a small winding channel, which they tell you is the impression made by the girdle, and miraculously continued there; for the conviction of all such as suspect the truth of the Virgin's being taken up into heaven.

Between the foot of Mount Olivet and the brook Cedron they show us the garden of Gethsemane, a level piece of ground, scarce sixty yards square. It is well planted with olive-trees, which are of an uncommon size, and of so old a growth, that the friars will have them to be the same that stood here in the time of our Saviour; which is hardly possible†,

* Acts i. 10, 11.

† Mr. Maundrell observes, that these trees cannot be so old as is pretended, from what is related by Josephus in several places, viz. that when Titus besieged Jerusalem, he caused all the trees

though the olive is allowed to be a tree of great hardiness and longevity. The olive-stones, as well as the oil of this place, are supposed to have some extraordinary virtue or sanctity in them; and accordingly beads are made of them, and purchased by the credulous pilgrims. At the upper end of the garden is a flat naked ledge of rock, reputed to be the very spot where the apostles, Peter, James, and John, fell asleep during our Lord's agony; on which, addressing himself to Peter, he thus expostulates with them, "What, could ye not watch with me one hour? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation*." In the middle of the garden there is a small slip of ground, about twelve yards in length, and one in breadth, supposed to be the very path on which the traitor Judas walked up to our Blessed Lord, saying, "Hail Master," and saluting him with a kiss: and it is remarkable, that the Turks themselves have inclosed this place with a wall, to separate it from the rest of the garden, as accounting the very ground accursed, on which this infamous treachery was acted. Not far from the place where the apostles slept is a grotto†, in which to be cut down within about a hundred furlongs of that city; and that in consequence of this, the soldiers were obliged to go to that distance for timber, to make their mounts when they assaulted the temple.

* Matth. xxvi, 40, 41.

† Here it may not be amiss to mention an observation of Mr. Maundrell's, which he says is very obvious to all that visit the Holy Land, namely, "That almost all passages and histories related in the gospel are represented, by those who undertake to show where every thing was done, as having been done most of them in grottos; and that even in such cases, where the con-

it is said our Saviour underwent that bitter part of his passion, when “His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground*.” This grotto is supported by four pillars, and receives its light through an opening in the middle of its vaulted roof. In one part of it there is a painting, done by order of the empress Helena, but now almost effaced, in memory of the angel’s appearing there to strengthen our Lord in the midst of his agony†.— Having pretty well satisfied our curiosity for the present, we crossed the brook Cedron near the reputed sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin, re-entered the city at St. Stephen’s gate, and returned again to our convent.

The next day an Italian gentleman, of a good family and fortune, was created a knight of the Holy

“dition and circumstances of the actions themselves seem to re-
 “quire places of another nature. Thus, if you would see the
 “place where St. Anne was delivered of the Blessed Virgin, you
 “are carried to a grotto; if the place of the annunciation, it is also
 “a grotto; if the place where the Blessed Virgin saluted Eliza-
 “beth; if that of the Baptist’s or that of our Blessed Saviour’s
 “nativity; if that of the agony, or that of St. Peter’s repentance,
 “or that where the apostles made the creed, or that of the trans-
 “figuration, all these places were also grottos: and, in a word,
 “wherever you go, you find almost every thing is represented as
 “done under ground. Certainly grottos were anciently held in
 “great esteem; or else they could never have been assigned, in
 “spite of all probability, for the places in which were done so
 “many various actions. Perhaps it was the hermits’ way of liv-
 “ing in grottos from the fifth or sixth century downwards, that
 “has brought them ever since to be in so great reputation.”
 Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 114.

* Luke xxii. 44.

† Luke xxii. 43.

Sepulchre by the father-guardian of the convent, the price of which honour is about twenty pounds sterling. Most writers who mention this order carry its institution as far back as the time of the apostle St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, or at least to that of Constantine the Great; pretending that Godfrey of Bouillon and his successor Baldwin were only the restorers thereof. But this antiquity is chimerical; nor is it certain, that this order was even founded so early as the time of the two last-mentioned princes. We know there were no regular canons in the church of the Holy Sepulchre till the year 1114; and it is more than probable, the knights were only instituted upon the ruins of the canons four hundred years after, and that by pope Alexander VI. to excite rich and noble persons to visit the holy places, by conferring upon them an honourable title. Leo. X. and Clement VII. granted to the guardian of the religious of St. Francis in the Holy Land, the power of making these knights; which power, first granted verbally, was afterwards confirmed by a bull of pope Pius the Fourth. In 1558, the knights of this order in Flanders chose Philip II. king of Spain, their master, and afterwards his son; but the grand master of the order of Malta prevailed on him to resign; and when the duke of Nevers assumed that quality in France, the same grand master, by his interest and credit, procured a like renunciation of him, and a confirmation of the union of this order with that of Malta.—But to give an account of the ceremonies used on conferring this honourable knighthood.

The guardian and most of the friars, with a great many pilgrims, (in which number we include our-

selves) attended the Italian to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where mass was celebrated on this occasion: after which the candidate of knighthood had the usual oath administered to him, which is to the following effect. The knights swear to be present at mass every day, if they have an opportunity; to serve in person in the Holy Land, whenever war is commenced against the infidels, or to send others in their stead; to oppose the persecutors and enemies of the church; to avoid unjust wars, dishonest gain, and private duels; to endeavour to reconcile dissensions, to advance the common good, and particularly to defend the widow and the orphan; to refrain from swearing, perjury, blasphemy, rapine, usury, sacrilege, murder and drunkenness, to live chastly, to shun the company of infamous persons, and both in their words and actions, through the whole course of their lives, to show themselves worthy of the honour to which they are advanced. The Italian having taken this oath, the guardian caused him to kneel down before the entrance of the sepulchre; and, laying his hand upon his head, exhorted him to be loyal, valiant, virtuous, and an undaunted soldier of Jesus Christ. Then giving him a pair of spurs, which he put upon his heels, and after that a sword, (the same, they say, that was Godfrey of Bouillon's) he commanded him to use it in defence of the church and himself, and to the confusion of infidels. He then sheathed it, and girded it to his side; after which going close to the sepulchre, and leaning his head upon the stone, the guardian created him a knight by giving him three strokes on the shoulder, and as often repeating these words: 'I ordain thee

‘ a knight of the holy sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ This done the father kissed him, and put about his neck a chain of gold, to which hung a cross of the same metal. Then the new-created knight arose, kissed the sepulchre, restored the above-mentioned Insignia to the guardian, and so the ceremony was concluded.

The day following we walked out of the city at Bethlehem gate, to see Mount Gihon and the pool of the same name, which lies a small distance to the Westward of the city. A very fine pool it is, being about a hundred yards in length, and sixty in breadth, lined with a wall which is faced with a durable plaster, and generally well stored with excellent water. We spent the afternoon with the French consul, who was making preparations for his return to Sidon, having discharged whatever his office requires him at Jerusalem.

On Saturday the 20th we went for the last time to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, that day being the conclusion of the present festival; at which time it is customary with the Turks to allow free admittance to all people, without demanding any money at the door as usual, calling it for that reason a Day of Charity. By this license the church is filled with a promiscuous rabble; and not only the poor, who ought never to be excluded, obtain an entrance, but it is said that the most wicked and profligate people resort hither at this time, and take the opportunity of practising the greatest lewdness and debauchery, profaning and polluting the holy places in such a manner as modesty requires us to conceal.

I have now given an account of what is most remarkable in the city and neighbourhood of Jerusalem, as it appears in its present state of slavery and obscurity; but I cannot leave the sacred place, without looking back a little, and taking a view of its once flourishing and glorious condition. It is certainly a very ancient city, and is generally supposed, though perhaps without any just foundation, to be the same with the Salem of Melchisedeck. However, I shall not undertake to decide the question, but only observe, that when it was possessed by the Canaanites, who dwelt there and in the adjacent parts, it was called Jebus and Jebusi*. David having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of which was their strong hold, made it his place of residence; and this is commonly called Zion, or the city of David†. Under Solomon the name of Jerusalem either first began, or first got the better of the other; but there being no sure reason assigned for this, nor any determined signification affixed to the name‡, I shall dwell no longer on these uncertainties.

In regard to the holiness of Jerusalem, we must not imagine that this attribute was given it by the Rabbins only, or by the legend of the shekels, which is Jerusalem the holy. Isaiah tell us, that the Is-

* Joshua xv. 8. xviii. 28. and Judges xix. 10. † 2 Sam. v. 7, 9.

‡ Salem in the Hebrew language signifies peace; and if we suppose Jerusalem to have been the ancient Salem of Melchisedeck, and afterwards called Jebus, its latter name seems to be nothing but a compound of the two former; the words Jebus and Salem being for the better sound's sake, by the change of one letter and the omission of another, softened into Jerusalem.

raelites called themselves of the holy city*, and Nehemiah twice gives Jerusalem that title†; which seems sufficiently to prove that it was no uncommon appellation: and as for the New Testament, we there meet with it in several places‡. Besides, it has other titles in scripture of the like import, having some relation to its sanctity. In the Psalms it bears the name of the city of God§; in the prophets we read, that it shall be called the throne of the Lord¶; and our Saviour himself calls it the city of the great King¶, as being hallowed and consecrated in a particular manner by God's residence in the temple.

This city has undergone so many changes, that it is no easy matter precisely to determine its extent in former times. Its ancient state of perfection may very well be fixed under the flourishing reign of Solomon, in whose time Jerusalem, before embellished by his father David, appeared in its greatest lustre and beauty; and there is not much probability that it was enlarged by the succeeding princes. The general and indeterminate descriptions of Jerusalem, to be found in the authors of these times, do not enable us to settle its bounds with any exactness: but we may venture to suppose that its circumference, at first, was about a mile; and we are sure it was twice, or perhaps three times as large under Solomon. After the captivity, Jerusalem being rebuilt took up much the same space as before, as may be gathered from Nehemiah's description of the ruins of the city and its condition after it was repaired**. According

* Isaiah xlviii. 2.

† Neh. xi. 1. 18.

‡ Matth. iv. 5.

and xxvii. 33.

§ Psalm xlv. 5.

¶ Jer. iii. 17.

¶ Matth. v. 35.

** Neh. ii. iii. and xii.

to Josephus, the whole circumference of Jerusalem was thirty-three stadia, which is about four miles and a hundred and twenty-five paces.

Of all the buildings that adorned the ancient Jerusalem, the temple, which David designed and Solomon perfected, was the most magnificent, and deservedly ranked among the wonders of the world. We are not to imagine, however, that this temple was built like one of our churches; for it did not consist of one single edifice, but of several courts and buildings, which took up a great compass of ground. It was erected on the top of Mount Moriah, and the whole fabric made an exact square of eight hundred cubits, or one thousand four hundred and sixty feet long on each side, directly fronting to the East, West, North and South.

To make this building more firm and secure, it was found necessary to begin the foundation at the bottom of the Mount; so that the sides were three hundred and thirty-three cubits, or about six hundred and eight feet high, before they were raised to the level of the temple; and this afforded a most noble prospect to the Westward, where lay the chief part of the city of Jerusalem. We can form no judgment of the vast labour of laying this foundation, since it is impossible to tell how much of the mountain must in some places be removed, and in others filled up, to bring it to an exact square for so great a height: but when we consider, that there were a hundred and eighty thousand workmen constantly employed for seven years and a half, it would make one wonder what so many hands could find to do; and yet when we reflect on the largeness of

the fabric, it is equally surprising to think how it could possibly be completed in so short a time. The foundation, according to Josephus, was laid prodigiously deep; and the stones were not only of the largest size, but hard and firm enough to endure all weathers, and proof against the worm. Besides, they were so mortised into one another, and so wedged into the rock, that the strength and curiosity of the basis was not less admirable than the intended superstructure, and the one was every way answerable to the other.

The ground-plot of the temple was an exact square, encompassed with a wall or battlement about five feet thick and twenty feet high, each side of it eight hundred cubits in length; and in this there were windows made of gold wire, from whence there was a delightful prospect. Immediately within this there were was a terrace walk, which with the battlement took up a space of fifty cubits, or about ninety-one feet in breadth. Into this part all strangers might come without distinction, so that here were the buyers and sellers and tables of the money-changers*. From hence there was an ascent of twenty cubits up to Solomon's porch, which was built upon pillars sixty feet high, and was fifty cubits in breadth, where people might conveniently walk, it being covered over to shelter them from the weather; and on the outside of it was a wall, in which also were windows, from whence they might see what passed upon the terrace below. This piazza encompassed another open court of the same breadth, called the court of the Gentiles, into which all might enter who had

* Matth. xxi. 12. Mark xi. 15. John ii. 14.

embraced the Jewish religion, of any nation whatsoever; though they were not admitted into the inner buildings, called the court of Israel, or the congregation of the Lord, until the time appointed by the law of Moses. The court of the Gentiles was separated from the court of the Israelites by a wall, each side of the square being five hundred cubits, and this last court was again divided into nine squares, every side whereof was a hundred cubits, and encompassed with buildings of fifty cubits in breadth: so that opposite to each front there were four rows of such buildings, viz. two rows to inclose the nine squares, and two others to divide the squares from each other; so that these four rows took up the space of two hundred cubits, and the three squares three hundred more, which was the whole space.

The Court of the Israelites had but three gates, one on the East, another on the North, and another on the South. That on the East was called the Gate of Nicanor, or the Beautiful Gate of the temple; and before it there was an ascent of fifteen steps, upon which the Levites on certain occasions used to sing the 120th Psalm, and the fourteen that immediately follow, one Psalm upon each step; from whence we find this title prefixed to all those Psalms, A Song of Degrees, or Steps. The quadrangle into which they entered by this gate, and the other six on the two sides, were called the Courts of the Israelites; but the two innermost squares, opposite to the middle entrance, were not divided from each other like the rest, but formed an oblong; which, however, may be distinguished into the middle part called the Court of the Priests, and the inner part,

where stood what was strictly termed the Temple, and which is particularly described in the book of Kings and Chronicles*. In the Israelites' Court, over-against the gate of the Priests' Court, was erected a throne for the king, (which was a magnificent alcove) where he seated himself when he came to the temple. In the Priests' Court was the Altar of Burnt Offerings, in the centre of the whole fabric, and a great deal larger than that of the tabernacle having ten brazen lavers, whereas the tabernacle had but one; and a Sea of Brass; which the tabernacle had not, supported by twelve oxen.

On the West side of the altar of burnt offerings; there was an ascent of twelve steps to what we may properly call the Temple; and this consisted of three parts, the Porch, the Sanctuary, and the Holy of Holies. The porch was twenty cubits in length and ten in breadth, and over it was a tower a hundred and twenty cubits in height, including the several ascents from the Terrace Walk before mentioned, or about half that height from the level of the Courts of the Israelites. On each side of the porch there was a room called the Chamber of the Knives, fifteen cubits in length and ten in breadth, equal to the breadth of the porch. In the porch were the two famous pillars Jachin and Boaz, whose names imply, that God alone was the support of the Temple. The sanctuary or nave of the temple was forty cubits long and twenty broad, wherein were the Altar of Incense and the Table of Shew-bread; but because the temple was larger, and wanted more light than the tabernacle, instead of one it had ten

* 1 Kings vi. throughout, vii. 13. to the end, and 2 Chron. chap. iii.

golden candlesticks. The Holy of Holies was a square of twenty cubits, wherein was placed the Ark of the Covenant, containing the two Tables of stone, on which God had engraven his ten commandments; but instead of two cherubims, as were in the tabernacle, there were four in the temple. From the Chamber of the Knives, round the temple and the Holy of Holies, there were chambers for the priests, one within another. They were five cubits high, and they went up with winding stairs on the outside into the middle chamber, and from the middle chamber to the third; so that there seems to have been galleries to go to the doors of the second and third stories. Over these chambers were windows of narrow lights, or narrow without and broad within; the temple itself being but a dark place, thereby more fitly representing the darkness of the law, especially when compared with the brightness of the gospel.

In short, the temple itself, strictly so called, had two stories, the upper of which was raised quite above the adjoining cells or chambers. This second story made a large room over the Sanctuary and the Holy of Holies, of equal dimensions with them; and some have conjectured that this was the upper chamber, in which the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles in a visible manner. This upper room was appropriated to the pious laity, as a place for them to come and pay their devotions in; and therefore it is not improbable that the apostles were here, with other devout persons, while the temple was full of Jews of all nations, who were come to celebrate the feast of Pentecost; whereupon they below, hearing

the noise, which was occasioned by the shaking of the place, ran up to see the cause of it, and, to their great surprise, found the apostles distinguished from the other Jews about them, both by the cloven tongues which sat upon each of them, and by their speaking several different languages.

Upon the whole, the glory of Solomon's temple did not consist in the bulk or largeness of it, (for in itself it was but a small pile of building, no more than a hundred and fifty feet in length, and a hundred and five in breadth, taking it all together, which is exceeded by many of our parish-churches) but its chief grandeur and excellency lay in its out-buildings and ornaments, in its workmanship, which was every where very curious, and its over-layings, which were vast and prodigious for the over-laying of the Holy of Holies only, which was a room but thirty feet square and twenty high, amounted to six hundred talents of gold, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our sterling money.

I shall finish this account of the temple in the words of Josephus, the Jewish historian. “The
“ whole frame, says he, consisted of stones polished
“ to the highest degree of perfection, and so artifi-
“ cially put together, that there was no joint to be
“ discerned, no sign of any working tools being up-
“ on them, but the whole looked more like the
“ work of providence and nature, than the product
“ of art and human invention: and as for the inside,
“ whatever carving, gilding, embroidery, rich silks,
“ and fine linen could do, of these there was the
“ greatest profusion. The very floor of the temple

“ was over-laid with beaten gold, the doors were
“ large and proportioned to the height of the walls,
“ twenty cubits broad, and still gold upon gold.”
in fine, it was gold all over, and nothing was want-
ing, either within or without, that might contribute
to its glory and magnificence.

The glorious temple was destroyed by Nebuchad-
nezzar in the reign of Zedekiah, four hundred twen-
ty-four years, three months, and eight days after it
was built, according to archbishop Usher. The se-
cond temple was built at the end of seventy years,
when the Jews returned from the Babylonish capti-
vity; but the workmen were obliged to keep their
swords by them to repulse the Samaritans, who
watched all opportunities of obstructing them in
their design. This last fabric, however, fell far short
of the glory of the former; insomuch that many of
“ the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers,
“ who were ancient men, and had seen the first house,
“ when the foundation of this house was laid before
“ their eyes, wept with a loud voice*.” But what
this temple wanted either in its structure, dimen-
sions, or ornaments, was more than over-balanced by
our Saviour’s honouring it with his presence, and
thereby made more glorious than that of Solomon,
as had been intimated by the prophet Haggai†. It
was finally destroyed by Titus the son of Vespasian,
together with the city of Jerusalem, in the 69th
year of Christ, which put an end to the Jewish state
and worship.

Before I leave Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine,

* Ezra. iii. 12.

† Chap. ii. 9.

it seems requisite, according to the method I have hitherto observed, to make a review of the history of the Jews, a people remarkably favoured by the Almighty, and settled in this once plentiful and happy country by his peculiar power and providence. As to their religion, it is so well known to every one who is conversant with the Old Testament, that it would be an unnecessary task, as well as a trespass upon the reader's patience, to insist upon that head; and with respect to their history, so much of it is likewise contained in the Holy Scriptures, that I shall treat of it with all possible brevity.

Without going so far back as the promises of God to Abraham, that he would in due time give the land of Canaan to his posterity, (which however ought to be remembered) let us consider the Israelites from the time they first began to make a figure as a people, I mean in their Egyptian bondage. It is surprising to consider to what a prodigious number those seventy souls, which came down with Jacob into Egypt, increased during their abode in that country, *i. e.* in the compass of two hundred and fifty years; insomuch that Moses tells us, they amounted to above six hundred thousand men, all able to bear arms*. Their multiplying thus abundantly made the Egyptians look upon them as a dangerous people, whom they therefore resolved to crush as much as possible, and made it their chief endeavour to weaken them by degrees, by hard labour, taxes, and all manner of oppression. But Pharaoh, king of Egypt, having found by the ex-

* Numb. i. 46.

perience of at least ten years, that neither the hardships he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people used towards them, could prevent their multiplying as fast or faster than ever, he sent for the two chief Hebrew midwives, and strictly commanded them, that when they performed their office to their country-women, they should destroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. The good midwives, abhorring so cruel a command, made no scruple to disobey it, and saved all the children that were born, males as well as females: whereupon Pharaoh, finding that these underhand stratagems proved ineffectual, resolved to act more openly against the Israelites, and accordingly issued out an order, that every male child of the Hebrews should be cast into the Nile, and none but the females suffered to live; by which the people found themselves obliged either to drown their own children, or to see it done by the Egyptians as soon as they were discovered, and themselves severely punished for not obeying the king's edict.

The designs of providence, however, were not to be frustrated either by the private artifices or open violence of the Egyptian monarch; for though Moses, whom God had ordained to be the instrument of delivering his people from slavery, was not born till after the promulgation of Pharaoh's barbarous edict, he was wonderfully preserved from the common destruction; being taken up when he was exposed on the river in an ark of bulrushes, and educated by Pharaoh's daughter. When Moses was grown up, having one day observed an Egyptian, using an Hebrew with uncommon barbarity, he was so exasperated

at it, that, finding the coast clear, he fell upon the Egyptian, killed him, and buried him in the sand: but endeavouring some time after to compose a difference between two Hebrews, one of them gave him very saucy language, asking him whether he designed to kill him as he had done the Egyptian? Finding therefore that the fact was known, and fearing lest it should come to Pharaoh's knowledge, he fled into the land of Midian where he was received by the hospitable Jethro, who employed him to look after his flocks, and at length gave him his daughter Zipporah.

In this retirement Moses continued for the space of forty years, when God was pleased to appear to him in a burning bush, commanding him to return into Egypt, to demand of Pharaoh in his name the dismissal of the Israelites, and assuring him that those who sought his life were now dead, and that he had nothing to fear from the Egyptians. Moses raised various objections, and used all the pleas he could think of to be excused from this difficult task; whilst God graciously condescended to dispel his fears, to clear his doubts, and gave him repeated assurances of his miraculous assistance. At last Moses obeyed, and left Midian; and having met with his brother Aaron at the foot of Mount Horeb, whom he acquainted with the divine commission he had received, they continued their journey together towards Egypt*.

Being arrived in the land of Goshen, their first care was to assemble the elders or heads of the Israelites, and to impart to them the joyful news of their

* See Exodus, chap. iii. and iv. throughout.

speedy deliverance; whilst Moses wrought those miracles before them, by which God had commanded him to establish his credit and authority. These tidings were received by the whole assembly with suitable expressions of gratitude and adoration to the Divine goodness, which had at length taken pity on their miserable condition*: but this tractable disposition lasted no longer than they thought their deliverance would cost nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon Moses and Aaron, every difficulty making them ungovernable and desponding.

When Moses and Aaron first opened their commission before the Egyptian king, and demanded leave for the Israelites to go three days journey to celebrate a festival in the wilderness, and sacrifice to the Lord their God, they were dismissed with a reprimand for putting such idle notions in their people's heads, and making them neglect their business. Nor was this all; for, upon pretence that the Israelites were grown lazy and wanton, Pharaoh ordered their task-masters to increase their hardships, by not allowing them straw to make their bricks with as usual, but obliging them to wander up and down to gather stubble instead of it, without diminishing one tittle of their work. They applied to Pharaoh for redress, but to no purpose; upon which they began to inveigh bitterly against Moses and Aaron, as the authors of this new addition to their misery, which could terminate in nothing but death or despair.

After Moses had heard their complaints, without of-

* Exodus v. 29, 30, 31.

fering any thing in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time, he made his application to God, and in the humblest terms expostulated with him upon the ill success of his message. Hereupon God was graciously pleased to give him fresh assurances of his love and compassion for his oppressed people, that he would speedily let all Egypt see that he was their God, and would be their deliverer and conductor into the land which he had promised to their fathers. To this end he enabled Moses to work such miracles, and to bring such a series of terrible plagues upon the obstinate Pharaoh and the land of Egypt, as one would have thought capable of softening the hardest heart, and of humbling the proudest monarch. It was not, however, till all the first-born of the Egyptians were in one night smitten with immediate death, that Pharaoh was induced to let the Israelites depart; urged to it by the cries of his unhappy subjects, who crowded about his palace, upbraiding him with being the cause of all the dire calamities they had suffered.

Leaving therefore the Egyptians to mourn for their dead, the Israelites began their march under the conduct of Moses, to the number of six hundred thousand fighting men, as has been observed above, besides old men, women and children, and a great multitude of strangers. This happened on the same day of the same month and week that Jacob first came into Egypt, two hundred and fifty years before; though Moses makes the sojourning of the Israelites four hundred and thirty years*, computing, as some

* Exod. xi. 40.

suppose, from the first coming of Abraham into Canaan.

The infatuated Pharaoh and the Egyptians soon began to repent of their parting with the Israelites, and losing the benefit of their servitude; and accordingly pursued them with a numerous army, to bring them back into their former bondage. Pharaoh, at the head of his host, came up with them near the Red Sea, which threw them into the utmost consternation, seeing themselves hemmed in, as it were, by the sea, by impassable mountains, and by the Egyptian army, without any visible way of escaping. In these circumstances the despairing Israelites could not forbear upbraiding Moses, as if he had brought them out on purpose that they might perish in the wilderness; but the same mighty arm, which which had been already stretched out for them in so eminent a manner, was most signally exerted at this juncture, and wrought for them a complete deliverance. A passage was miraculously opened to them through the midst of the sea, the waters being divided, and standing on each side of them like a wall, as we are informed by the sacred historian*. In a word, the Israelites marched safely to the opposite shore, whilst the Egyptians pursuing them with great eagerness were overwhelmed by the waves, inso-much that neither Pharaoh nor any one of his vast army escaped the common ruin.

The Israelites, beholding this total destruction of their enemies, began to fear the Lord and to believe his servant Moses. They now thought themselves entirely freed from slavery, and upon the brink of

* Exod. xiv. 22.

their complete happiness. A few days march would easily bring them to the borders of the promised land, and the conquest of it could not but appear easy to them, who had God for their protector, and Moses for their guide. And perhaps Canaan would soon have been in their possession, had it not been for their continual murmurings and rebellions against the leader whom heaven had appointed to conduct them, joined to an invincible fondness for idolatry and superstition, which proved not only a constant obstacle to their hopes, but the great source of their misfortunes, as well as the cause of much grief and vexation to Moses, though a man famed above all others for his meek and gentle disposition.

Scarce had the Israelites travelled three days from the Red Sea, into the wilderness of Shur, before they began to show fresh marks of their untractable and ungrateful temper, on account of their want of water. This dissatisfaction was appeased by the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah*; but in a short time, provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they renewed their murmurs more violently than ever, repining that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the flesh-pots of Egypt, into a wilderness where they had nothing but the prospect of dying with hunger†. Notwithstanding this provoking behaviour, God was pleased to give them new instances of his favour, by sending them such prodigious flight of quails‡

* Exod. xv. 22—25.

† Exod. xvi. 2, 5.

‡ Here we must remember, that this was done about the middle of April, at which time these birds are known to fly out of Egypt cross the Red Sea in vast quantities; so that the miracle consists not so much in the great numbers of them that fell in the

as quite covered their camp, and raining down bread from heaven*. But they had not advanced many

camp of the Israelites, as in God's directing them thither, and on that very evening too, according to his promise, and the prediction of his servant Moses. The word indeed, which we render quail, is confessedly of uncertain signification, and may denote a locust as well as a quail; but what induces us to prefer the latter acceptation, is that passage of the Psalmist, (xxviii. 27.) where he tells us, that "God rained flesh upon them as thick as dust, "and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea;" which cannot, with any tolerable propriety, be applied to insects.

* This bread was by the islanders called manna; but commentators are very much divided about the etymology of the name. Some derive it from the Hebrew word *manah*, a gift, to intimate its being a gift from heaven; and others from the Egyptian word *man*, signify what is it? This last etymology seems the more probable, in regard the scripture takes notice of the surprise the Israelites were under when they first found this new food upon the ground. Salmasius, however, prefers another: according to him, the Arabs and Chaldeans used the word *man* to signify a kind of dew or honey that fell on the trees, and was gathered in great abundance on Mount Libanus; whence he supposes, that the Israelites did not use the term manna out of surprise, but because they found this food fall with the dew, in the same manner as the honey so well known to them under the name of *man*. The same learned writer adds, that the manna of the Israelites was in reality no other than that honey or dew condensed, and that the one and the other were the same with the wild honey wherewith St. John was nourished in the wilderness: so that the miracle did not consist in the formation of any new substance in favour of the Israelites, but in the punctual manner in which it was dispensed by providence for the sustenance of so vast a multitude.—As to our translation of Exodus xvi. 15. where the Israelites say one to another, "It is manna, for they wist not what it was;" this seems to involve Moses in a contradiction, and the text ought undoubtedly to be rendered, (agreeably to the Septuagint version, and several authors both ancient and modern) "When the children of Israel "saw it, they said one to another, What is this? For they knew not "what it was."

many days journey, till coming to Rephidim, and finding no water there, they fell into their old way of distrusting God's providence, and murmuring against Moses, and that in a tumultuous and threatening manner. To satisfy their clamours, God ordered Moses to smite a certain rock on the side of Mount Horeb with his rod, which he had no sooner done than water gushed out in abundance at several places, and, joining in one common stream, ran down to the camp at Rephidim. This station was so infamous for the mutiny of the people, and their distrust of God, that Moses called the place Massah and Meribah, which signify temptation and contention.

About this time the Israelites were alarmed by the approach of an army of Amalekites, whom they defeated under the conduct of Joshua, whilst Moses held up his hands to God in prayer, which were supported by Aaron and Hur, when through weariness he could hold them up no longer. This good success in their first martial enterprize gave the Israelites great encouragement, and opened a way for them to Mount Sinai, where their abode proved not only the longest, but the most famous of any other by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies they were afterwards to observe. They had not been long encamped in the wilderness of Sinai, before God called Moses to come up to him on the Mount, and there charged him to remind the Israelites of the many wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to assure them, that if they proved obedient to his laws, (notwithstanding their past murmurings and distrust

of his providence) he would still look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal priesthood. Upon his descent from the mountain, Moses made a report to the elders, and they to the people, of the gracious message; which they no sooner heard, but they promised all possible obedience to the divine commands.

With this answer of the people Moses re-ascended the mountain, and received a command from God to sanctify them, and to prepare them for the glorious scene he was going to exhibit; charging him at the same time to set boundaries about the foot of the mountain, which none might adventure to pass, under the severest penalties. On the third day, the people having prepared themselves according to the divine injunction, they saw, early in the morning, the mountain surrounded with a thick cloud, out of which proceeded such thunders and lightnings, as filled them with horror and amazement. Upon the first sounding of the trumpet, which was the appointed signal for the people to approach, Moses brought them out of the camp, as near to the mountain as the barrier would permit; and there they observed the top of Sinai covered with fire and smoke, whilst the foundations of it seemed to tremble and shake under their feet. In the midst of this awful scene, the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder, and the claps of thunder and flashes of fire more and more frequent, till Moses, whom God had called up to the top of the mountain, was returned to the people with a renewed charge that they should not break through the appointed limits. This being done, the thunder and the trumpet ceas-

ed, and every thing was hush and silent; when God was distinctly heard, from the midst of the fire and smoke, (which still continued) to pronounce the law of the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, which is indeed a complete system of the moral part of the Jewish institutes.

Soon after this, Moses went up to the Mount again, and received from God several other laws both ceremonial and political, which seem to have been calculated with a wise design to preserve the people in their obedience to God, to prevent their intermixture with other nations, and to promote the happiness of their commonwealth, by securing to all the members of it a quiet enjoyment of their lives and properties.

The next time that Moses went up the mountain, he took with him, some part of the way, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, who were favoured with a prospect of the divine presence. To these elders Moses committed the care of the people, and, taking Joshua along with him, went up higher to the top of the mountain, where he continued for the space of forty days. Here it was that God, calling him nearer to himself, laid down to him the whole plan of the Jewish religion, of the tabernacle and all the sacred utensils, together with several laws relating to the priests and Levites; and having recommended a strict observation of the Sabbath, he gave him the two tables of stone, whereon were written with his own hand, at least by his immediate direction, the ten great commandments, which were the sum and substance of the moral law*.

* See Exodus, from chap. xxv. to xxxi. inclusive.

During this long absence of Moses, the Israelities in the camp, who began to give him over for lost, assembled about Aaron's tent in a riotous manner, and demanded of him to make them some gods to go before them; and such was Aaron's weakness or cowardice, that he tamely complied with their shameful request. Having ordered them to bring a sufficient quantity of their golden ornaments, he made of them a molten calf, set it upon a pedestal in sight of the whole camp, erected an altar before it, and appointed the next day as a solemn festival to their new-made deity, which was begun with offering sacrifices to it, and concluded with feasting, singing, and dancing. Their noisy mirth soon reached the ears of Moses, who was then descending from the mountain with his servant Joshua; and as he drew near the camp, and saw the golden calf, and the people rejoicing about it, fired with indignation at their shocking idolatry, he threw down the two tables he had in his hands, and brake them to pieces. He then set himself immediately about destroying the idol, which he did so effectually as to reduce it to a powder; and caused the Levites to put to the sword about three thousand of the delinquents.

It was not along after this, that God, to comfort and encourage Moses under the fatigue he had with an obstinate people, granted his request, and shewed him as much of his glory as his nature was able to bear. He likewise gave him orders to prepare two other tables of stone, and to come up again to him on the mountain by himself. Accordingly Moses went up early in the morning; and having prostrated himself before the Lord, he interceded so powerfully in behalf

of the people, that God was pleased to pardon their sins, and to make a farther covenant with them, upon condition that they would keep his commandments for the future; would observe Sabbaths, his passover, and other appointed festivals; would not worship the gods of the Canaanites, nor make any alliance with the people of the country. Moses continued forty days and forty nights upon Mount Sinai, as he had done before, without eating or drinking; and when he came down from thence, his face had contracted such a lustre, that the people were not able to approach him; for which reason, whenever he talked with any of them, he covered his face with a veil, but never made use of any when he went into the tabernacle to receive the divine commands.

In less than six months the tabernacle and all its rich furniture were finished, and set up at the foot of Mount Sinai, on the first day of the first month, in the second year after the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. Aaron and his sons were solemnly consecrated priests, and began to offer up all kinds of sacrifices upon the new altar, according to the law of Moses. Soon after this, the heads of each tribe appeared before Moses and Aaron, and presented a considerable offering to God, in six waggons drawn each by two oxen; all which were received by Moses, and set apart for the service of the tabernacle. Thus commenced this pompous worship, in the framing and instituting whereof God was pleased to comply with their gross and carnal minds, which he saw were incapable of being affected with one of a pure and more spiritual nature.

The Israelites had not marched above three days

from their encampment near Mount Sinai, before they began to complain of the tediousness of their journey, and to renew their murmurs against their gracious deliverer; which so provoked him, that he sent down fire and consumed those that were in the extremities of the camp, or such as loitered behind on pretence of weariness; and though the fire ceased upon the intercession of Moses, the place obtained the name of Taberah, which signifies burning*.

No sooner was this danger over, but they began to murmur at the manna with which they had been fed so long, and to demand a supply of flesh, regretting once more that they had forsaken the garlic, the onions, and the flesh-pots of Egypt. This desire, how unreasonable soever, God was pleased to gratify, by sending them such innumerable flocks of quails, as were sufficient for them to live upon for a whole month together: but while they were regaling themselves with these dainties, the Lord smote a great number of them with a sore disease, which carried them off suddenly; in memory whereof the place was called Kibroth-Hataavah, or the Sepulchres of Concupiscence†.

After several encampments the people came at length to Kadesh-barnea, on the frontiers of Canaan, where Moses was commanded to chuse twelve fit men, one out of each tribe, (among whom were Joshua and Caleb) to take a view of the country; and accordingly having received their instructions to examine into the strength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its soil, and the like, they set out upon their progress, and finished it in forty

* Numb. vi. 1, 2, 3.

† Numb. xi. 34, to the end.

days. Being safely arrived in the camp, they made their report to Moses and Aaron, in the presence of the elders and of all the people. They began with extolling the riches of the land, shewing them a specimen of it in some of its finest fruits, and particularly a large bunch of grapes, which by reason of its prodigious size, as well as to preserve it from being bruised, they had hung upon a pole, and brought between two men's shoulders. But when they found that this account had fired the people with a desire of making the country their own by a speedy conquest, ten of them began to change their note, and to represent it as a thing impossible, both from the strength of its fortified towns, and the valour and gigantic stature of its inhabitants. Joshua and Caleb were the only two that opposed this cowardly representation, and gave the people all imaginable encouragement that the enterprise was practicable and easy; but the account of the other ten had struck such a terror into them, that they all cried out there was no probability of overcoming such powerful nations; and their discontent and despair grew to such a height, that they even deliberated upon a proper person to re-conduct them into Egypt, thinking it more adviseable to that course, than to face so terrible an enemy.

This heinous ingratitude and infidelity of the Israelites was so provoking to the Almighty, who had wrought so many wonders for them, that he solemnly declared, that none of those above twenty years, except Joshua and Caleb, should enter into the promised land; in that the children should wan-

der from place to place for the space of forty years*, till all the carcasses of their fathers were rotted in the wilderness. And as for the ten spies, whose false report occasioned this rebellion, they were all destroyed by a sudden death, and became the first instances of the punishment denounced against the whole nation.

To give a detail of the many other remarkable occurrences that befel the Israelites in their tedious passage through the wilderness, would be inconsistent with my design, and that brevity which I proposed to observe. I shall therefore only take notice, that during this long interval, the divine providence displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner in the forming and polishing the rising generation, for whom the conquest of Canaan was reserved. The miraculous pillar continued still to direct them, and the manna to nourish them; without which, or some such wonderful provision, so vast a multitude must absolutely have perished in that barren country: and another evident instance of God's paternal care for them was, that their raiment, and particularly their shoes, remained sound and whole, and their feet unhurt*, notwithstanding

* Moses here makes use of a round number, in allusion to the forty days of the spies searching the land; though it is plain that the children did enter it in less than thirty-nine years after this sentence was pronounced against their fathers. The truth is, the forty years must be computed from their first coming into the wilderness, which was a year and a half before.

* Deut. viii. 4. xxix. 5.—Some have taken pains to prove that there was nothing miraculous in all this; whilst others, fond of

their long and frequent marches. Moses still continued his intercourses with God; and if at any time the people relapsed into their murmurings and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so closely and so universally, that they could never flatter themselves with the hopes of impunity, or think their disobedience would be countenanced by the number of delinquents. Upon the whole, the behaviour of the Israelites were far from being answerable to that extraordinary care and tenderness that God showed towards them; for during the remainder of their long peregrination they were guilty of many more seditions and idolatries than Moses has thought proper to record, which yet they are se-

magnifying miracles beyond their proper bounds, will have it that the cloaths of the Israelites grew bigger, as they themselves increased in bulk and stature. But both these extremes may be avoided, by supposing that the younger, in their proper degrees, might succeed to the vestments of the elder; and the miracle will still remain wonderful enough, that God should preserve these vestments from decaying, and their feet from swelling, or being callous, (as some translate it) for the space of forty years, notwithstanding their travelling in such hot and stony places. As for those who think the phrase denotes, that their feet were not sensible of any uneasiness or fatigue through the whole vast length of their journey; this construction seems repugnant to several passages of scripture: and therefore where it is said, "Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell these forty years," the easier interpretation is, by way of metonymy, to take the shoe for the foot, and to make the latter part of the verse agree with the former, bringing the whole to this meaning, that as their cloaths, which covered their bodies, did not become useless through age, so neither did their shoes decay, or burst or grow out of shape (for in all these senses may the original word be taken) though they were engaged in such

verely upbraided with by other inspired writers†.

Upon the death of Moses, who was not permitted to enter into the promised land, but only to take a view of it from Mount Nebo, Joshua became the leader and general of all Israel by divine appointment. Under his conduct they passed the Jordan, its waters being miraculously divided for them, as those of the Red Sea had formerly been at their coming out of Egypt; and thus having gained the plains of Jericho, they encamped at a place which was afterwards called Gilgal, upon account of their renewing the ceremony of circumcision, which had been discontinued during their forty years wandering through the wilderness. By this means they were qualified to partake of the passover, which festival they now celebrate for the third time; the first being at their departure out of Egypt, and the second at the erecting of the tabernacle at the foot of Mount Sinai. And now being arrived in this land of plenty, that supply of manna entirely ceased, by which they had been miraculously sustained during their long travels through a barren desert.

It is probable that Joshua was gone out alone from the camp towards Jericho, in order to reconnoitre that city, and think of the properest way of besieging it, when on a sudden there appeared to him a person cloathed in armour, and standing at some distance with a drawn sword in his hand. Joshua how-

frequent and tedious marches.—See more upon this subject in Stackhouse's History of the Bible, p. 486.

* Psalms and Ezekiel in several places, Amos v. 26. Acts vii. 25.

ever advanced towards him, boldly asked him whether he was for or against Israel; and upon his answering that he was captain of the Lord's host, Joshua fell down before him in humble adoration, whilst the vision commanded him to loose his sandals from off his feet, (as Moses was ordered to do at the burning bush) and then proceeded to instruct him in what manner he would have the siege of Jericho carried on, that the Canaanites might thereby be made sensible it was something more than an arm of flesh that fought against them.

The taking and burning of the city of Jericho, and afterwards of Ai, and the great slaughter made amongst the inhabitants, so alarmed the kings on that side of the Jordan, that they entered into a league for their mutual defence. But the Gibeonites, instead of uniting their forces with their neighbours, had recourse to a stratagem*, whereby they obtained an amicable alliance with the people of Israel, and averted their impending destruction. The confederate princes, hearing of this separate treaty which the Gibeonites had made with Joshua, were resolved to be revenged of them for their desertion of the common cause; and accordingly, joining all their forces together, they went and invested their city. The Gibeonites, in this distress, sent an express to Joshua desiring a speedy succour; who did not fail to set out with all expedition, and falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, after a long night's march, forced them to raise the siege with the utmost pre-

* See a particular account of this stratagem in the ninth chapter of Joshua.

cipitation. In this enterprise God had encouraged Joshua, and promised him success; and therefore as the confederate forces were endeavouring to save themselves by flight, he poured upon them such a shower of large hailstones, as destroyed more than what perished by the sword; nay he condescended so far as to change the very course of nature, and miraculously to prolong the day*, in order to give

* It is well known that many learned men among the Christians have scrupled to fall in with the Copernican system; upon a mistaken notion that it is directly contrary to several express testimonies of the holy scriptures, and particularly this of the sun's standing still at the command of Joshua; whilst others from a contrary principle, have been induced to question their divine authority, because they favoured so absurd a one as that of Ptolemy is now generally allowed and proved to be. Both these extremes might have been avoided by two very obvious observations; first, that the expressions here made use of, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon," &c. are figurative and incapable of a literal sense; and secondly, that the system which supposes the earth to be immoveable in the centre, and the sun, moon, and stars to turn round it, was the most universally received, the best adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freest from seeming difficulties; and that nothing is more common in scripture, than to express things not according to the strict rules of philosophy, but according to their appearances, and the vulgar apprehensions concerning them. These considerations, however natural and reasonable, have been so far from being universally admitted, that a great number of authors, both Jews and Christians have ransacked their brains to find out more satisfactory solutions, though with so little circumspection and success, that they have rather multiplied than removed the difficulties they endeavoured to avoid. Some have affirmed, that the motion of the heavenly luminaries was only retarded, and not entirely suspended: but surely they do not mean, that either of these things could have been done without

Joshua an opportunity of overtaking and destroying his flying enemies.

an Almighty power, and to such a power both of them were equally easy; so that this hypothesis neither destroys nor lessens the miracle, though it does not come up to the expression of the sun's standing still, which is positively asserted in the scripture. Maimonides is of opinion, (and in this he is followed by some Christian writers, particularly Grotius) that there was no cessation of the sun and moon's motion, but that the whole purport of the miracle was this, that God, at Joshua's request, granted him and his soldiers such a supply of spirits, and so much vigour and activity, as enabled them to do as much execution upon their enemies in one day, as might otherwise have taken up two: but this is a construction so repugnant to the genuine sense of the text, as to need no formal confutation. Spinoza has improved upon Maimonides, and quite removed the difficulty by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the refraction of the sun's rays by the clouds, which were then more than usually loaded with hail. Peirerius, in like manner, imputes it to some aurora borealis, or parhelium, which after the setting of the sun, might appear about the territories of Gibeon, and make Joshua and his army think that the sun was still above the horizon, though it was actually set as usual. All these cavils are effectually silenced by the express words of the text, that "the sun stood still in the midst of heaven," in the meridian of that place, or much about noon; which makes it impossible that Joshua and the Israelites should have been so strangely deceived, as these authors have represented.—Upon the whole, it is a vain attempt to endeavour, against the obvious meaning of the sacred text, to explain away this great miracle and to account for it by natural causes. Nor have we, notwithstanding all the deference we owe to the authority of the scriptures, any reason to reject the Copernican system, because they represent the earth as immoveable, and the sun revolving around it; for as they were designed to teach us our duty, and not to instruct us in the rudiments of natural knowledge, it can be deemed no diminution

After this signal victory Joshua made himself master of all the Southern parts of Canaan, which after-

either of their perfection or divine authority, that they generally speak according to the common appearance of things, and not according to their reality or philosophic truth. And yet it must be owned, it looks as if Joshua had the solar system in his thoughts, when he ordered the moon, as well as the sun, to stop its course; because so long as he had the presence of the latter, that of the former was useless: but if he only requested, that the light should continue in the same state wherein it then was, till he had completed his victory, (which is certainly all he meant) he could not but know, that, upon the earth's standing still, the sun and moon would seem to do the same; though to have expressed himself in a manner so incongruous to the popular conception, would have been improper, if not dangerous, at that time. It will be asked, perhaps, how it was possible for the earth to resist, for so many hours, the impulse of the circumambient fluid of the Cartesians, or of the Newtonian attraction and gravitation, or of whatever other mover hurries it along, without causing an universal stop throughout the whole system? not to mention, that this objection will be equally strong, if not stronger, against the other hypothesis of the sun's being stopt in its career; it may be answered, that the fact being altogether preternatural, we need only suppose a sufficient power to have diverted that impulse from the earth, and directed it to glide on each side of it, and then all the other parts of the system might easily have kept on their motion, whilst that of this globe was totally suspended. However, though it may be difficult to give a philosophical answer to all the objections that have been raised against the possibility of this miracle, it is sufficient to say, that the supreme Author of nature, who first gave motion to matter, and whose will alone appointed the laws of it, can either suspend or dispense with them, whenever his own glory, or any wise ends of his providence make it necessary or expedient. To doubt of this is to deny the truth of all miracles, and does not deserve a serious answer.—The reader may find more upon this subject in the Universal History, and Mr. Stackhouse's History of the Bible.

wards belonged to the tribes of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin, Dan, and Ephraim; and, having thus ended his second campaign, he returned with his army to the camp of Gilgal. Here he continued for some time, without entering upon any fresh action, till several princes of the North of Canaan, and Jabin king of Hazor, confederated together, and raised a formidable army against him, the more so, as they had a great number of horse and armed chariots, whereas the Israelites were all on foot. Joshua however, in pursuance of God's instructions, marched directly towards the enemy, fell suddenly upon them, and gained a complete victory. Jabin was soon afterwards killed, and his city burnt to the ground; but the other cities were left standing, and the plunder given to the soldiers.

The reduction of the Canaanites, and the partition of the country among the several tribes, employed Joshua about six or seven years; and he was arrived at the 110th year of his age, by that time he had finished his arduous undertaking. It is to be remembered, that the tribes of Rueben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, had already had their portions allotted them by Moses on the East side of the river Jordan; but they had faithfully assisted their brethren in the conquest of Canaan, and now obtained from Joshua an honourable dismissal. This great and pious general, perceiving the time of his death approaching, called together the heads and elders of Israel; and having, in a very tender and affectionate speech, enumerated the many blessings which God had bestowed upon them and their ancestors, he exhorted them to a faithful observance

of his laws, and by no means to suffer themselves to be drawn into idolatry. He likewise prevailed with them to enter into a solemn covenant; which he not only recorded in the book of the law, but set up a monument in memory of it under an oak that grew within the precinct of the tabernacle, to be a testimony against them in case they revolted from the service of the Almighty.

After the death of Joshua, no particular person, that we read of, succeeded him in the government; and therefore the most probable opinion is, that every tribe was governed by their respective heads or elders, and that in their wars with the Canaanites they made them their commanders; for it is to be observed, that a considerable part of Canaan remained unconquered at Joshua's decease. This form of government, or rather anarchy, continued above thirty years, till the time of the valiant Othniel, who was the first of those governors of Israel, whom the scripture calls Judges. During this interval, the whole nation sunk into an amazing degree of degeneracy and apostasy, as if they had lost not only the remembrance of Joshua, and of their late solemn covenant, but even all sense of religion, all fear of God, or regard to his commands. Indulging themselves in loose conversation, and making intermarriages with the Canaanites, they were drawn into the most monstrous idolatry, worshipping Baal and Ashtaroth, and other idols of the heathens; which so provoked the Lord, that he left them to themselves; and, being destitute of his protection, they were often overpowered and enslaved by their enemies.

The story of Micah, and the war of the Benjamites,

which happened during these times of confusion*, are pregnant instances of the apostasy and immorality of the people. The first slavery which their defection brought upon them was under Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, who held them in subjection about eight years, till they were delivered by their first judge, the above-mentioned Othniel, who obtained a peace which lasted forty years. Soon afterwards they fell again under servitude to the Moabites, from which they were freed, at the end of eighteen years, by Ehud their second judge, who having privately stabbed the king of Moab, and escaped undiscovered, immediately assembled an army, routed the Moabites, and procured another peace for his people. Shamgar, their third judge, delivered them from some incursions of the Philistines, of whom he slew six hundred with an ox-goad†, or, as the Latin and Greek versions render it, with a plough-share.

* These two stories are related in the 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters of Judges; and being so placed, they may seem to belong to the latter part of this period; whereas, in the judgment of most learned men, they were transacted much about this time.

† Mr. Maundrell, who saw them at plough in the Holy Land, tells us they make use of goads of extraordinary size. Upon measuring several, he found them about eight feet long, and at the bigger end six inches in circumference. They are armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle for driving the oxen, and at the other end with a small spade or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay that encumbers it in working. May we not from hence conjecture, (says he) that it was with such a goad as one of these, that Shamgar made that prodigious slaughter related of him, Judges iii. 31. I am confident that whoever should see one of these instruments would

The prophetess Debórah, the fourth judge of Israel, and her general Barak, set them free from a servitude under Jabin king of Canaan, which had been longer and more grievous than any of the former. Barak, with only ten thousand men, whom he assembled at Mount Tabor, gained a complete victory over the numerous army of Jabin under the command of Sisera; which success put an end to the oppression of the Northern part of the land for forty years, proving the utter ruin of the kingdom of the Canaanites in Hazor. This memorable action gave occasion to that triumphant song composed by Deborah, which we find recorded in the fifth chapter of Judges.

After the death of Deborah and Barak, the Israelites fell again into their old impiety, and were again given up into the hands of their enemies; being kept in such severe subjection by the Midianites, that they were forced to betake themselves to the mountains, and to dwell in dens and caves, and inaccessible places. These enemies likewise made frequent inroads into their country, especially about the time of harvest, destroying or carrying off the fruits of their labours, killing their cattle, and leaving them almost in a starving condition. Under this miserable tyranny they were groaning, when God was pleased to send them a prophet, to reproach them with their base ingratitude, and convince them of the justice of their sufferings; and at the same time sent his angel to Gid-

judge it to be a weapon not less fit, perhaps fitter than a sword for such an execution.—The same single person (continues he) both drives the oxen and holds the plough; which makes it necessary to use such a goad as is above described, to avoid the incumbrance of two instruments. Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 110, 111.

eon, who was then threshing out his corn in a private and unsuspected place, to acquaint him that he was chosen to be the deliverer of Israel. Gideon at first excused himself on account of the obscurity of his family and fortune; but being assured by repeated miracles that the message came from heaven, and that he should be divinely assisted and protected, he set about the noble undertaking; and with three hundred men only, (to which God was pleased to reduce his army, that they might not impute their success to their own strength or numbers) advancing in the dead of the night to the camp of the Midianites and their allies, and making use of a stratagem which he had before concerted, he put to flight their vast army, who in the flight and confusion, mistaking their friends for their enemies, fell upon one another, and by that means afforded Gideon an easy victory, and such a complete one, that from that time the Midianites never made any attempt against Israel.

The brave Gideon died in a good old age, and left the Israelites in a peaceful and flourishing condition; but they soon returned to their shameful idolatry, and repaid his services with the blackest ingratitude. Besides seventy sons which he had by his wives, Gideon left behind him a natural son named Abimelech, a man of a base intriguing genius, and full of ambition and cruelty. Immediately after his father's death he repaired to Shechem, where his mother's family dwelt and had considerable interest, whom he prevailed upon to inspire the Shechemites with some terrible jealousies against the rest of the sons of Gideon; and having by his insinu-

ations obtained from them a sum of money, he hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the most wicked enterprise, and led them directly to Ophrah, where, having surprised his seventy brethren, he murdered them all upon the spot, except Jotham the youngest, who happily made his escape. This shocking massacre, which ought to have made him abhorred by all mankind, especially by those who had the least grateful remembrance of Gideon, brought all the Shechemites into his interest, who unanimously chose him their king, in hopes that all the rest of the nation would follow their example. He had the mortification, however, not to be acknowledged by any of the tribes, and the Shechemites themselves soon grew jealous of him, and conspired against his life; but it pleased God to suffer him to escape, and in a short time to make him the instrument of the entire destruction of Shechem and its inhabitants. Flushed with his success against Shechem, he marched to reduce Thebez, a city of Judah, which had also taken up arms against him, where he met with an ignominious death; for having made himself master of the town, and being about to set fire to the gate of the citadel, whither the inhabitants had retired, a woman threw down a piece of a mill-stone upon him, and fractured his skull; so that finding himself mortally wounded, he called to his armour-bearer to put an end to his life, that it might not be said he died by the hand of a woman. This was the exemplary end of Abimelech, who sullied the list of the judges, being the only one that usurped and abused that dignity.

He was succeeded by Tolah, the son of Fuah, an

eminent man of the tribe of Issachar; of whom we have nothing particular, except that he dwelt in Shamir upon mount Ephraim, where he was buried, after he had judged Israel three and twenty years.

Their next judge was Jair, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of Manasseh which dwelt on the East of Jordan, and possessed a vast territory of the land of Gilead. Having enjoyed his dignity two and twenty years, he was buried in the city of Camon.

About this time the Israelites returned to their former idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, which brought upon them a fifth servitude of eighteen years under the Philistines and Ammonites. In their distress they had recourse again to prayer and professions of repentance, and were brought to such a sense of their folly, that they renounced all their idols, and began to serve the Lord in earnest; who, according to his wonted mercy, soon found out means to effect their deliverance. Jephthah was the person chosen to undertake this task, who having subdued the Ammonites, and chastised the insolence of the Ephraimites, (who in a tumultuous manner threatened to set fire to his house, because he had not sent for them to join the army and share in the victory) spent the remainder of his days in peace, and was buried in one of the cities of Gilead, after he had judged Israel six years, meaning that part of it which was on the East side of the Jordan.

The tenth judge of the Israelites was Ibzan, who had thirty sons and thirty daughters, whom he lived to see all married; and, after he had governed seven

years, was succeeded by Elon; and he, after a ten years administration, by Abdon of the tribe of Ephraim, who ruled eight.

During the time of these three last judges, the Israelites enjoyed a peace of three and twenty years continuance; but relapsing soon afterwards into their old impieties, God suffered the Philistines to invade and oppress them, and keep them in a grievous servitude for forty years together. The sixth slavery began about seven months after the dignity of judge had been united with that of high-priest in the person of Eli, who was of the family of Ithamar, the younger branch of Aaron's house, into which the high-priesthood had been translated from the elder one of Eleazar. It may seem surprising that the people should have continued so long free from defection during the administration of lay-judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of a high-priest: but Eli is particularly recorded for his indolence and remissness, especially towards his two sons, whom he suffered to run into the greatest excesses of debauchery and irreligion, to the scandal of all Israel.* However, he was the only ruler the Israelites had during this long thralldom, and seems to have been chosen by God as the properest judge for them at that time; for, as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the fittest to withdraw their usual confidence in human strength, and make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the weight of their afflictions had brought them to a just sense of

* 1 Sam. ii. 12. et seqq.

their transgressions, God was graciously pleased to send them a deliverer.

The person we mean was Samson, who was wonderful from his conception to his death. He was the son of Manoah, a native of Zorah in the tribe of Dan, and of a mother whose name we nowhere find in the scripture. This woman was barren and had no children; but an angel appeared to her when she was alone, and assured her that she should be the mother of a son, who should begin to deliver Israel out of the hands of the Philistines. This promise was afterwards renewed by the divine messenger, and accomplished at the time appointed; and even in his youth the Spirit of God began to appear in Samson, enabling him to give some extraordinary instances of strength and activity. How he troubled the Philistines for twenty years, slew a thousand of them with the jaw-bone of an ass, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, shorn and bereaved of his strength and eyes, became the object of their scorn and revenge; and how, after near a years miserable servitude, he buried with himself all the Philistine nobles under the ruins of a magnificent structure; these are particulars so well known, that the bare mention of them is sufficient for our present purpose.

Though this extraordinary slaughter of the Philistine nobility did not put an end to the slavery of the Israelites, yet it inspired them with fresh courage to attempt the regaining their liberty; but their horrid wickedness proved an invincible obstacle to their success. Being repulsed in an attempt against the Philistines, they took it into their heads to bring the

ark of God into their camp, in hopes, at least, that it would strike a terror into their enemies, and prove a means of their future success; but the consequence was, that they lost both the battle and the ark, the Philistines having slain thirty thousand of their foot, among whom were the two sons of Eli; and the old priest upon hearing the dismal news, especially of the captivity of the ark, fell backwards from his seat, broke his neck, and died immediately, after he had been the supreme magistrate of Israel for forty years.

Upon the death of Eli, the government came into the hands of the prophet Samuel, a man of uncommon zeal and courage, and fit to reduce the Israelites from their abominable defection and idolatry. He took occasion, from the people's assembling in great multitudes about the ark, (which the Philistines had been forced to send back again on account of the plagues they suffered) to exhort them very earnestly to renounce their idolatrous practices, and to devote themselves entirely to the worship of the true God; on which condition only, they might expect a speedy deliverance from the yoke of the Philistines. The people readily complied, and afterwards assembled themselves at Mizpeh according to his appointment, where they fasted, prayed, confessed their sins, and showed all the tokens of a sincere repentance. This unusual meeting gave umbrage to the Philistines, who immediately took up arms, and came up against them; but upon Samuel's sacrifice and intercession for the Israelites, God was pleased to send such a storm of thunder and lightning, as quite discomfited their enemies, whom they pursued, and made a great

slaughter. After this victory the land enjoyed a profound peace all the remaining time of Samuel's government, most part of which was employed in the administration of justice, for which purpose he took a circuit every year round a great tract of the country; but, growing in years, he appointed his two sons to execute that office; who, degenerated from their father's example, became such mercenary and corrupt judges, that the elders of Israel came in a body to Samuel, complaining of the grievances they lay under, and demanding to have the form of government changed, and a king instituted among them, as there was in other nations. This demand was far from being agreeable to Samuel; but having consulted God upon it, he was commanded to comply with the people's request, though not without previously representing to them, in the strongest terms, the many mischiefs and inconveniences that would be the consequence of a kingly power. All his remonstrances and dissuasives, however, availed nothing; the people persisted in their demand, and Saul was soon after anointed and proclaimed king of Israel by God's appointment.

The beginning of Saul's reign was prosperous enough, but having offended God in several instances, he was provoked to remove the kingdom from him and his posterity, and to give it to a more worthy and faithful person. After he had sat upon the throne about seventeen years, his army being totally routed by the Philistines, he chose to rush upon his sword, and put an end to his unfortunate life, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, from whom he expected the most cruel treatment.

After the death of Saul, David, repairing to Hebron, was anointed king over Judah by those of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; whilst Abner, Saul's general, took his son Ishbosheth, who was then forty years old, and proclaimed him king over Israel at Mahanaim. But Ishbosheth, after a short reign, being slain by Baanah and Rechab, all the tribes of Israel sent their deputies to David, acknowledging his title, and promising his allegiance; so that now he was anointed king over all the tribes, after he had reigned at Hebron, over that of Judah only, for the space of seven years and six months. Being thus invested with full regal power, and having a brave army, he made his first expedition against Jerusalem, when Joab distinguished himself by taking the fort of Zion by assault, which till that time had been thought impregnable. David enlarged the buildings of the place, and from that time made it his residence, calling it the city of David; whilst Joab repaired and beautified the old city Jebus or Jerusalem, and surrounded it with a strong wall; from whence it became the metropolis of Judea. I cannot pretend to enumerate all the enterprises and victories of David; but in general it may be said, that he was a valiant and warlike, as well as a pious prince, and was successful in his wars against the Philistines, Moabites, Amalekites, Edomites, Syrians and other enemies; from whom he took such a vast quantity of the richest spoils, (part of which he never failed to dedicate to the design of building a temple) that the wealth which he left behind him is almost beyond belief. God was pleased to express his approbation of David's pious intentions of erecting a mag-

nificent fabric for religious worship: but as he was a man of war, and had often defiled his hands with blood, the divine wisdom thought proper to reserve that work for his successor Solomon, whose reign was blessed with a profound peace, and himself with extraordinary affluence and prosperity. David died in the 70th year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-three years over all the tribes of Israel.

Soon after Solomon's accession to the throne, he set about executing his father's design of building a temple to the Lord; in which he received great assistance, as has been already observed, from Hiram king of Tyre, who had also maintained a strict friendship and alliance with David. To carry on this stupendous work with the greater ease and speed, Solomon caused an account to be taken of all the Canaanites, and other foreign slaves, that were in the land, who were found to amount to 153,600; of whom he appointed 70,000 to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and stone in the mountains, and the remaining 3,600 to be their overseers. Besides these strangers, who were under the direction of some of his chief officers, he levied 30,000 men out of all Israel, whom he appointed to work on Mount Libanus one month in three, 10,000 every month, under the inspection of Adoniram: these were likewise employed in hewing of wood, marble, and other stone, which was afterwards wrought by the Tyrian masons and carvers, and being conveyed to Joppa by water, was carried from thence to Jerusalem. Whilst these were preparing, Solomon, who had been still adding immense quantities of gold, silver, precious stones, and other rich materials, to

those which David had laid up before his death, and put them into proper hands to be wrought into an almost infinite variety of ornaments. In a word, such was the number of hands employed, and such the diligence of the workmen and overseers, that Solomon was able to lay the foundation of this vast structure, which was the second after David's death, and the four hundred and eightieth after the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt; and in little more than seven years the whole fabric was completed. But though in the former part of this prince's reign we meet with nothing but what gives us the highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and magnificence, yet how differently did he appear in the decline of his life! And Solomon, renowned for his wisdom, beloved of God, and admired by all the world for his excellent virtues, became at last such a slave to the passion of love, that he ventured to marry a surprising multitude of strange women, without distinction of nation, country, or religion, and without the least regard to God's express commands to the contrary, till at length he suffered himself to be seduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to seven hundred, besides three hundred concubines; or wives of the second rank; and his complaisance for them went so far, as to build altars and temples to their several deities; insomuch that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, if not the city itself, was filled with idols and temples, and the Mount of Olives was defiled with two altars, one to Chemosh the god of Moab, and another to Moloch the god of the Ammonites. Such a shameful apostasy was highly displeasing to the Almighty,

who accordingly let Solomon know, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of Judah excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to David, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his decease. Whether this denunciation awakened him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry or lust, the scripture does not inform us, nor are the learned at all agreed. He died in the fortieth year of his reign, and about the fifty-eighth of his age, and was buried in the stately sepulchre of his father David.

He was succeeded by his son Rehoboam, who had three potent adversaries to deal with. The first was Hadad king of Edom, the second Rezin king of Damascus, and the third, and most dangerous of all, was Jeroboam, a bold enterprising young Ephramite, whom Solomon had formerly made overseer of his buildings. This man had been told by the prophet Ahijah that God would give him the ten tribes which were to be rent from Solomon's successors; and either upon that account, or some particular misdemeanour, he had been forced to fly into Egypt to avoid the king's resentment, where he probably concerted with the king of Edom about causing an insurrection in Israel. As soon as he heard, therefore, that Rehoboam was upon the throne, he returned from Egypt to watch an opportunity of putting his designs in execution, and soon met with one as favourable as he could possible desire. Rehoboam was gone with his court, and all the elders of the tribes to receive their homage at Shechem; but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he would promise to re-

dress some grievances, which they complained they had laboured under in the reign of his father. The young prince, instead of listening to the salutary counsel of those who advised him to make the people some gracious promises, answered them in a haughty tone, that he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had done; and that, if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions instead of whips to chastise their insolence. This imprudent answer provoked them to such a degree, that they disclaimed all farther allegiance to the house of David; and having murdered Adoram, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes declared for Jeroboam. After this outrage committed upon his minister, Rehoboam thought it high time to consult his own safety, by flying with all speed to Jerusalem; by which means he secured the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and raised an army of a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men, in order to reduce the rest to their obedience: but while they were on their march, the prophet Shemaiah came and acquainted them, that this revolt of the Israelites was from God, and persuaded them to desist and return home, which they did accordingly. Thus was this great and flourishing kingdom, almost in its infancy, split in two parts, which ever afterwards went under different denominations, the one being called the kingdom of Judah, and the other the kingdom of Israel, whereas the latter included the whole before this memorable defection.

These two kingdoms subsisted, in opposition to each other, till Salmaneser having destroyed Sama-

ria, and carried away the ten tribes captive, put an end to the kingdom of Israel, two hundred and fifty-four years after its separation from that of Judah. During this period the kings of Israel and Judah, as well as their respective people, were sometimes pious and zealous for the worship of the true God, and sometimes immersed in all manner of idolatry and wickedness. Their successes were consequently various, being sometimes under the blessing and protection of heaven, and at other times drawing upon themselves the heaviest judgments; now victorious over their enemies, and then again overpowered and distressed.

The kingdom of Israel was destroyed in the reign of Hoshea, but that of Judah subsisted till the time of Zedekiah, when Nebuchadnezzar besieged and took Jerusalem, and after having plundered it, ordered the temple, palace, and the whole city to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications were demolished, and all the Jews, down to the very common people, were carried away prisoners beyond the Euphrates, except some few of the baser sort, who were left to till the ground and dress the vineyards*. As for the unfortunate Zedekiah, after he had seen all his children cruelly butchered before his face, his eyes were put out, and he was sent in chains to Babylon, where he finished his days in a prison. This was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the Jewish monarchy, after it had stood four hundred and sixty-eight years from the time that David began to

* 2 Kings xxv. 12.

reign over it, three hundred and eighty-eight from the revolt of the ten tribes, and a hundred and thirty-four from the excision of the Israelitish commonwealth; having enjoyed the sunshine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipsed, but the almost constant and horrid ingratitude of the people, and their invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and sorceries of other nations.

The term of seventy years, which had been prefixed by the prophet Jeremiah for the continuance of Judah's captivity, (and which must be computed from the first time of Nebuchadnezzar's taking Jerusalem, when Daniel and his companions were carried away to Babylon) being come to a conclusion, and Cyrus being in full possession of the Persian empire, he published a decree, whereby he gave free liberty to the Jews to return into their own country, and to rebuild the house of the Lord at Jerusalem. He also ordered his treasurer to restore the sacred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the former temple and brought to Babylon; and wrote letters recommendatory to the governors of several provinces to assist the Jews in their undertaking.

By the encouragement of this decree, the Jews soon gathered together in order to return home, to the number of forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, exclusive of their servants, who were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven more; so that they amounted in all to forty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-seven persons*. The chief leaders of these returning captives were Zerubbabel

* Ezra ii. 64, 65.

and Jeshua, the former descended in a direct line from the regal, the latter from the pontifical family. Zerubbabel was made governor of the land by a commission from Cyrus, and Jeshua of course succeeded to the high-priesthood; and with them were joined several others, as assistants, for settling all affairs both in church and state.

About fourteen months after their return from captivity, the Jews laid the foundations of the second temple, in the carrying on of which work they met with great obstructions from the Samaritans; who, though they could not alter the decree that Cyrus had made in favour of it, yet by bribes, and underhand dealings with his ministers, they in a great measure defeated its effects; so that the building went slowly on for several years, and upon the death of the prophet Daniel, (who was a powerful advocate for his countrymen at the Persian court) and afterwards of their great benefactor Cyrus, it was quite intermitted, until the second year of Darius the son of Hystaspes, when it was re-assumed, and finished in the sixth year of that prince's reign; its dedication being celebrated by the priests and Levites, and all the congregation of Israel, with great joy and solemnity.

Upon the death of Zerubbabel, the administration both of civil and ecclesiastical affairs devolved upon Ezra; but in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Nehemiah, who was one of that prince's cupbearers, obtained leave to go to Jerusalem, and a full commission (as governor of the province of Judea) to repair the walls, to set up the gates, and to fortify the city again, in the same manner it had

been before it was dismantled by the Babylonians. To do him the greater honour, the king ordered a body of horse to escort him to Jerusalem; and wrote to all the governors of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all possible assistance in his undertaking. In a word, this pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity; and, at the expiration of the time that was allowed him, returned to Babylon according to his promise.

Some time afterwards Nehemiah came again to Jerusalem, and set himself about reforming several abuses which had crept into the Jewish church and state during his absence. How long he lived is uncertain, but soon after his death the people relapsed into their former corruptions, for which reason we find Malachi, the last prophet under the law, and who must have lived in the time of Nehemiah, reproving the priests for their iniquity and scandalous lives, and upbraiding the people with their neglect of the worship of God, their refusal to pay their tithes and offerings, their divorcing their own wives and marrying strange women, and their inhumanity and cruel usage of their indignant brethren; the very same enormities that this good governor had laboured to reform.

The pious Nehemiah was the last governor that the kings of Persia sent to Jerusalem; for after his death, Judea being added to the prefecture of Syria, was subjected to the rulers of that province; and, under them, the administration of all public affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, was committed to the high-priest; which made that office much more co-

veted than it used to be, and sometimes tempted those to invade it who had no right to the dignity.

The Jews continued subject to the Persian empire till it was destroyed by Alexander the Great; who having vanquished Darius in two pitched battles, taken his mother, wife, and children prisoners, overrun Syria and Phoenicia, and made himself master of Tyre, marched from thence to Jerusalem, with an intent to punish the disobedience of the Jews, who refused to submit to him whilst Darius was alive, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance. In this imminent danger, Jaddus the high-priest was ordered by God in a dream to clothe himself in his pontifical robes, and with the priests also dressed in their proper habits, and the people in white garments, to go out of the city and meet the approaching conqueror. Jaddus obeyed the divine command, and the solemnity of the procession, especially the awful appearance of the high-priest, had such an effect upon the angry monarch, that his resentment was immediately softened into a religious veneration, and being conducted into Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where Jaddus showed him the prophecies of Daniel relating to the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king, which confirmed Alexander in the opinion that he himself was the person whom heaven had chosen for that purpose. Before he left Jerusalem, he granted the Jews a toleration to live according to their own laws and religion, and an exemption from the payment of tribute every seventh year, when they were forbidden to till the ground; and having signified his pleasure, that if any of them had a mind to serve in his army he would readily

receive them, and permit them to observe their own customs and way of worship, great numbers listed themselves in his troops, and followed him in his expeditions.

After the death of Alexander, and the division of his empire, Judea frequently changed its masters, being almost alternately subject to the kings of Egypt and Syria, according as their arms prevailed, till the cruel reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, who proved a very terrible enemy and persecutor of the Jewish nation. This Syrian monarch, among other instances of his rage and severity, published a decree, commanding all the nations under his dominion to forsake their ancient rites and usages, and to conform to the religion of their prince; but though this was expressed in general terms, it was chiefly designed against the Jews, whom the king was absolutely determined to destroy. The officer, who was sent to see this decree put in execution, was named Athenæus; on whose arrival at Jerusalem all sacrifices to the God of Israel were suspended, and all the rites of the Jewish religion. The temple itself was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius, (whose image was set up on the altar of burnt-offerings) and all the people obliged to offer sacrifice to him upon pain of death. In short, no manner of cruelty was omitted, to force the Jews to abandon their religion and turn idolaters; but though many of those unhappy people yielded to the violence of persecution, yet several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than to forsake the law of their God; among whom the most memorable are Eleazar, an ancient scribe, and

the heroic Salomona and her seven sons, whose story is so well known as to need no repetition*.

To make head against this terrible persecution, and to work deliverance for Israel, it pleased God to raise up Mattathias, descended from Asmoneus, a priest of the course of Joarib, from whom the whole family had the name of Asmoneans. Being joined by great numbers of Jews, who had a just concern for their holy religion, he ventured out of his fastnesses to which he had retired, and, going round the cities of Judah, he pulled down the heathen altars, re-established the true worship, caused the children to be circumcised, cut off all the apostates that fell in his way, and destroyed all persecutors wherever he came. Before Mattathias' death, he called together his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan, and having exhorted them to stand up valiantly for the law of God, and to fight the battles of Israel with courage and constancy, he appointed Judas to be their captain, and Simon to be their counsellor; and so gave up the ghost in the hundred and forty-sixth year of his age, very much regretted by the faithful Israelites.

His son Judas (surnamed Maccabæus) was surprisingly successful in his wars against the enemies of his country, defeating in the first place Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus; and afterwards Seron, who was killed in a battle, as Apollonius had been before him. With a handful of men he likewise vanquished and put to flight the army sent against him under the command of three

* See 2 Macc. ch. vi. and vii. and Josephus de Maccabæis.

eminent generals, Ptolemy, Macron, Nicanor, and Gorgias. After this, having intelligence that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus' lieutenants, were drawing forces together to oppose him, he marched against them, and obtained a signal victory, killing above twenty thousand of their men, and enriching his troops with their spoils. In the next place Lysias, whom Antiochus had commanded to extirpate the whole Jewish nation, ashamed of the ill success his master's arms had hitherto met with, put himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and marched into Judea with a full intent to destroy the country and all its inhabitants: but Judas gave him battle with only ten thousand men, killed five thousand of the enemy, and put the rest to flight; and Lysias retired with his baffled army to Antioch. Upon receiving all this ill news, Antiochus resolved to set out himself with all possible expedition, in order to make the Jews feel the dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing but their total ruin and destruction: but God was pleased to give a sudden check to his fury, by smiting him with excessive pains and a most nauseous ulcer; which, together with some violent bruises which he received by a fall from his chariot, put an end to his impious life, after he had languished for some time in a miserable condition, and under the most horrid torments both of body and mind.

He was succeeded in the kingdom of Syria by his son Antiochus Eupator, who was then in his minority, and under the tuition of Lysias. The persecution and wars against the Jews were continued in

this prince's reign, and the brave Judas still went on successfully, gaining great advantages over Antiochus' generals, and over himself in person, till at length he obtained a peace upon honourable conditions. Soon after this, Demetrius, (surnamed Soter) who had been sent an hostage to Rome, made his escape from thence, and landed in Syria, in order to get possession of the kingdom, to which he had a legal title. On this occasion Eupator was deserted by every body, being seized by his own soldiers, together with the regent Lysias; and both of them were put to death by order of Demetrius, who by that means saw himself established upon the throne without opposition. Judas was likewise victorious over this prince's generals, particularly Nicanor, whose army, consisting of thirty-five thousand men, he totally destroyed in a pitched battle, that not one of them was left to carry home the tidings of their overthrow. Demetrius, hearing of the defeat and death of Nicanor, sent Bacchides and Alcimus into Judea with another powerful army; at whose arrival Judas had no more than three thousand men to oppose them, who were so terrified with the strength and number of the enemy, that they all abandoned him except eight hundred. With these few, however he had the boldness to hazard a battle, in which, after having done every thing that a great and valiant general could do, being overpowered by multitudes he was at length slain; and his dead body being taken up by his two brothers, Simon and Jonathan, was buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors, with all the funeral honour that was due to the memory of so brave a man, and so excellent a commander.

Upon the death of Judas, his brother Jonathan was made captain of the Jewish forces, who so harrassed and distressed the army of Bacchides, that he readily consented to an accommodation, which Jonathan had proposed. The wars being thus happily determined, Jonathan took care to reform, as far as in him lay, all abuses in the Jewish church and state, repaired the city of Jerusalem, fortified it on every side, and rebuilt the wall round the mount of the temple, which had been demolished. After this, having interested himself in the affairs of Syria, he performed many gallant exploits, and was at last treacherously murdered by Tryphon, who usurped that kingdom.

He was succeeded in the command of the Jewish army by his brother Simon, who obtained from Demetrius Nicanor a grant of the sovereignty of Judea, on condition of assisting him against the usurper Tryphon. On the same account Antiochus Sidetes also made Simon very large promises, which however he was so far from performing when he was settled on the throne of Persia, that he concerted, or at least was privy to, the most abominable measures to bring about Simon's destruction. Simon had a son-in-law named Ptolemy, who formed a design, which he communicated to Antiochus, of usurping the government of Judea to himself; and to this end he invited Simon, and his two sons Judas and Matathias, to an entertainment; and whilst they were drinking and making merry, he basely caused them all to be assassinated.

The ambitious views, however, of this execrable murderer were happily disappointed; John Hyrcanus,

a third son of Simon's, being declared high-priest and prince of the Jews in the room of his father. Antiochus, taking the advantage of Simon's death, invaded Judea, drove Hyrcanus out of the field, and so closely besieged him in Jerusalem, that he was forced to sue for peace, and capitulate upon dishonourable terms. But afterwards, during the divisions and disturbances that happened in the Syrian empire, Hyrcanus took an occasion not only to enlarge his territories, but to shake off all subjection to that monarchy, and to render himself entirely independent. He destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, and at last the city of Samaria itself. He conquered the Idumæans, and obliged them to embrace the Jewish religion. He also renewed the alliance with the Romans, which had been made by his father Simon, and obtained from them greater privileges and advantages than ever the Jews had enjoyed before.

On the death of Hyrcanus who left five sons behind him, Aristobulus the eldest succeeded his father both in the pontificate and temporal sovereignty and was the first in Judea that assumed the diadem and title of king since the Babylonish captivity. His mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus' will, made some pretensions to the government; on which account he imprisoned her, and caused her to be starved to death. He also put all his brothers under the like confinement, except Antigonus, who was his great favourite, and at first admitted to a share in the government; but soon afterwards his affections began to cool, and he took away his life upon a false accusation. He entered into a war with the Iturnæans,

and having subdued the greatest part of them, he forced them to embrace Judaism, as his father had the Idumæans some years before.

Immediately after the death of Aristobulus, his widow Salome released the three princes out of prison in which her husband had kept them during his life-time; and Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of them, was placed on the throne. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown; but as for the youngest, named Absalom, who desired to live quietly in a private condition, he granted him his favour and protection. This prince besieged Ptolemais, but to no purpose, and was afterwards defeated by Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Cyrus; however, Cleopatra queen of Egypt came to his assistance, with whom he concluded an amicable alliance. After this he took Gadara, the strong fortress of Amathus, the city of Gaza, and other places; maintained a six years war against his rebellious subjects, during which time above fifty thousand of them lost their lives; and, having been successful in several military enterprises, he died at last at the siege of Ragaba.

He left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but he decreed by his will, that his widow Alexandra should govern the kingdom during her life, and chuse which of the sons she thought fit to succeed her. According to her husband's advice; she gave up herself and her children entirely to the direction of the Pharisees, who were then in great esteem, and who may be said to have had the entire management of affairs during the reign of this princess, which gave them an opportunity of oppressing

and persecuting all those who were of the opposite party.

When Alexandra was established upon the throne, she made Hyrcanus high-priest, and upon her death-bed declared him her successor; but Aristobulus had taken care during the queen's illness, to form such a strong party in his favour, that Hyrcanus found himself obliged to resign both the crown and high-priesthood to his brother, and to submit to live quietly upon his own private fortune. Hyrcanus, however, at the instigation of Antipater, applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, for assistance to reinstate himself in his kingdom; and having obtained a supply of fifty thousand men, he gave battle to Aristobulus, and gained a complete victory. But notwithstanding this defeat, Aristobulus kept possession of the kingdom till Pompey entered Judea with a Roman army, made him his prisoner, took Jerusalem, and restored Hyrcanus to his pontifical dignity, as well as to his temporal power; though he would not permit him to wear a diadem, and obliged him to pay an annual tribute to the Romans.

Pompey having sent Aristobulus, and his two sons Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome, Judea might have expected a lasting tranquillity; but Alexander finding means to escape, returned home, and began to raise some forces against Hyrcanus, which, however, were soon routed by Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, and he himself had his head struck off at Antioch by Pompey's order. Aristobulus, and his son Antigonus, after they had been five years at Rome, having made their escape, returned into Judea, where the former endeavoured

to create fresh troubles; but Gabinius falling suddenly upon him, before he was prepared to make a sufficient resistance, took him prisoner, and sent him back again to Rome, where at length he was poisoned by some of Pompey's party. Some time after this, Antigonus, the youngest son of Aristobulus obtained an army of Parthians to assist him in recovering his father's kingdom; by whose means he took Hyrcanus prisoner, cut off his ears, (to render him incapable of the high-priesthood) and then delivered him to the Parthians, who carried him to Seleucia. From this time Antigonus assumed the title of king, though never acknowledged by the Jews: nor did his reign last above two years, for Herod, who was created King of Judea by the Roman senate, made war against him, shut him up in Jerusalem, and having made himself master of the city, as well as of that prince's person, sent him in chains to M. Antony, who caused him to be put to death, after a formal trial. With him ended the reign of the famous house of Asmoneans, after it had lasted a hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus.

Old Hyrcanus, the only rightful prince of Judea, returned to his native country upon the death of Antigonus, and for some time lived contentedly under Herod's government, of whose greatness he had laid the foundation, but who at last basely caused him to be put to death upon a sham pretence of his holding a treasonable correspondence. This Herod, surnamed the Great, was the son of Antipater, an Idumæan; and was created king by the power of M. Antony, and confirmed by Augustus. In his

reign the kingdom was more enlarged, and in greater splendor than ever it had been since the time of Solomon. He rebuilt the temple, which by length of time, (having now stood five hundred years) as well as the violence of enemies, was in a decayed and ruinous condition. In two years he got together all proper materials, and in nine and a half more the structure was so far finished, as to be fit for divine service; though, to carry on the out-buildings, a great number of workmen were continued about it all the time that our Saviour was upon earth, and for some years after. Herod was the first foreigner to whom the Jews became immediately subject, so that the sceptre being now departed from Judah, God was pleased to send into the world the promised Messiah, our blessed Lord and Saviour, who was born at Bethlehem in the thirty-third year of Herod's reign, in the twenty-sixth of that of Augustus from his overthrow of Antony at Actium, and (according to the exactest computation) in the four thousandth year of the creation*.

* This calculation (which is archbishop Usher's) falls in exactly with the time where an old tradition of the Jews places the beginning of the days of the Messiah. According to that tradition, the world was to last six thousand years; two thousand before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah. This tradition is of great antiquity, and esteemed as authentic as any of the sort; but its pretending to foretel when the world shall end (which the scriptures make a secret that God has reserved to himself) sufficiently shows its vanity. However, since the Jews have thought fit to place it among their most authentic traditions, it serves against them, first, to prove the time when according to their own doctrine the Messiah was to come; and secondly, to convict them of their ^{own} ^{error}

After Herod's death his dominions were divided according to his will, which was confirmed by Augustus. That part of his kingdom, which included Judea, Idumæa, and Samaria, he left to his eldest son Archelaus: to Philip he gave Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea; and Herod Antipas had Galilee and Peræa. Archelaus, following the steps of his father, rendered himself so odious to the Jews, that they made a complaint of him to Augustus, who, upon a full hearing both of his crimes and vindication, deprived him of his government, banished him into Gaul, and reduced his dominions to the form of a Roman province, which was afterwards ruled by a governor who was sent from Rome, who was called Procurator, but in some cases was subject to the president or governor of Syria. Herod Antipas, who put John the Baptist to death, and in whose reign our Lord suffered, was at length banished himself, and his dominions were given by Caligula to Herod III, surnamed Agrippa; as were also those of his uncle Philip, with the addition of the tetrarchy of Abylene in Syria, which formerly belonged to Lysanias. The succeeding emperor Claudius confirmed him in his honour and sovereignty, and also gave him Samaria, Judea, and Idumæa, with all that had been subject to his grandfather Herod the Great. This prince was succeeded in

and most perverse infidelity, in that they have now suffered above seventeen hundred years to elapse, since the time, which they themselves assign for the commencement of the Messiah's appearance, and have not yet acknowledged him in the person of Christ, the time of whose birth agrees so exactly with their own tradition. Prideaux's Connection, Vol. IV, p. 922.

part of his dominions by his son Agrippa Minor, before whom St. Paul pleaded his cause, and who was the last that was called king of the Jews, for in his time the city of Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, and the whole kingdom reduced to a Roman province.

I shall conclude this summary of the Jewish history with a short account of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, one of the most memorable events in all antiquity. Famines, plagues, earthquakes, ominous voices, armies and flaming swords in the air, were the fatal presages of the ruin of that glorious city and temple; and there never was the like signal instance of heaven's visitation of a people, who, by their obstinate blindness and impiety, were become miserable objects of divine wrath, and fully ripe for vengeance. Vespasian, having himself reduced most of the country of Judea, left the management of the war against the Jews to his son Titus, who with a powerful army, and all kinds of military engines, sat down within six or seven furlongs of Jerusalem in the year of our Lord, 70, a little before the feast of the Passover; by which means he shut up a prodigious number of people, come from all parts to that great solemnity, so that their provisions were in a short time consumed.

Upon the approach of Titus' army, the several factions, into which the city was at that time divided, unanimously agreed to oppose the common enemy; and accordingly sallying out with great resolution and fury, they put the Romans into disorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp and fly to the mountains: but the Jews were at last repulsed

and driven into the city by the conduct and valour of Titus, who, in this and all other actions during the siege, signalized himself in an extraordinary manner.

The city was strongly fortified with three walls; besides which, the castle of Antonia, the palace, and above all the temple, were like so many distinct citadels. When Titus had fixed his engines, which was notd one without great opposition, he battered the outward walls; and having made a breach, on the third day of May he entered and took possession of the north quarter of the city, as far as the castle of Antonia and the valley of Kedron; which when he had done, he gave the besieged all possible assurances of pardon and civil treatment, in case they would submit, but they, judging his humanity to be the effect of cowardice, refused all manner of conditions. Five days after this, Titus broke through the second wall; and though he was several times repulsed by the vigorous sallies of the besieged, he at last possessed himself of the new Lower City. His merciful disposition still continuing, he sent Josephus to his cuntrymen to exhort them to yield; but, notwithstanding all his powerful arguments and pathetic persuasions, he was entertained with nothing but scoffs and reproaches; so that Titus from thence resolved to proceed with more severity against a people who had been perfidious to the highest degree, and were obstinate beyond example. Accordingly when any of the Jews escaped out of the city, (which many did on account of the famine) and were taken by the Romans, Titus caused them to be scourged and crucified, and that in such numbers, that room

was wanting for crosses, and crosses for persons; intending by this dismal spectacle to terrify the besieged, and induced them to surrender.

On the 12th of May, Titus began four mounts for his battering-rams, two near the castle of Antonia, where he was in hopes of taking the temple, and two near the monument of John the high-priest, where he supposed it would be easiest for him to force his way into the upper city; but, in two bold sallies, the besieged ruined the mounts, burnt several rams and other engines, and broke into the very camp of the Romans. At length they were valiantly repulsed by Titus, who resolved, in a counsel of war, to surround the whole city with a wall or intrenchment, both to hinder the flight of the besieged, and to prevent their receiving any relief; thereby exactly verifying our blessed Lord's prediction: "The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and encompass thee round, and keep thee in on every side*." This work, though near five miles in compass, was carried on with incredible celerity, and finished in three days; but it made no impression upon the besieged, who still continued to make an obstinate defence.

The famine now began to rage violently in the city, and such a mortality ensued, that, from the 14th of April to the 1st of July, 115,080 carcasses of the poorer sort were carried out to be buried at the public charge; and some persons who fled to Titus assured him, that 600,000 were cast out of the gates; and when the number of the dead bodies in-

* Luke xix. 43.

creased so that they knew not how to dispose of them they gathered them together, and shut them up in their largest houses. All this while the famine increased to such a degree, that a bushel of corn was sold for six hundred crowns; that sinks and holes were continually raked to find the old dung of oxen for food; that wives took the meat out of their husbands mouths, children from their parents, and mothers from their infants; that old men were driven from their victuals as useless persons, and young men tortured to make them confess where they had hoarded their provisions; that the very soldiers (who, it may be supposed, were the last that would want) began to eat belts, shoes, skins, and hay itself; and that a woman of quality even boiled her own child to eat it; an act so detestable, that Titus, after he had insisted upon his frequent offers of peace and pardon to the Jews, declared publicly, that ‘ he would bury that abominable crime ‘ in the ruins of their country, and not suffer the ‘ sun to shine upon that city where mothers eat ‘ their own children, and were fathers, no less culpable, reduced them by their obstinacy to that ‘ extremity.’

With this resolution he cut down all the trees within a considerable distance of Jerusalem, and having with great labour raised new mounts, on the first of July he began to batter the wall of Antonia. A breach being made, he entered the castle on the first of that month, and pursued the flying Jews even to the temple; which, when he had done, both he and Josephus again exhorted them to surrender, but to no purpose: they obstinately refused

all terms of accommodation, adding, 'that they had rather endure the worst of miseries.' A few days after this, Titus erected other mounts, whereby he overturned the foundations of Antonia, and made an easy ascent to the temple; and having seized the North and West porticos, or cloysters, of the outward range of the temple, he set them on fire, as the Jews did other porticos, to hinder the Romans from making their approaches. On the eight day of August, when Titus perceived that the walls of the inner temple were too strong for his battering-rams, and there was no possibility of undermining them, he determined upon that from which reverence had for some time restrained him, which was to set fire to the gates, yet still with an intent, if possible, to save the temple itself; but it so fell out, that a certain Roman soldier, contrary to the command of his general, cast a flaming fire-brand through the golden window into the chambers and buildings on the North side, which immediately set them on fire, and the flames, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours to extinguish them, spread throughout the whole fabric, and consumed the most magnificent and beautiful structure that ever the world beheld.

The sight of this extreme misfortune put a killing damp to all the courage and fury of the Jews, who, having now lost the great jewel for which they chiefly fought, did not think their lives worth enjoying any longer. The loud outcries and miserable lamentations of the people echoed from all the adjacent mountains; and many famished and expiring persons made shift to lift up their dying eyes, and to bewail the fate of the once glorious temple.

In the mean time the Roman soldiers pursued their victory with all imaginable fury and revenge, cutting in pieces all that they found about the temple, and setting fire to the rest of the buildings; in one of which six thousand men, women, and children, who had been deluded thither by a false prophet, perished miserably in the flames.

In this confusion the seditious Jews found means to escape into the city, where they desired a parley with the Roman general, who highly condemned them for their obstinacy, but nevertheless promised them their lives upon immediate submission. They refused, however, to rely upon his promises, and demanded liberty to depart the city with their wives and children, at which Titus was so exasperated, that he caused proclamation to be made, 'that they were no longer to expect any mercy.' Accordingly he permitted his soldiers to burn and plunder all the lower city; but the chiefs of the factitious parties retiring to the king's palace, where great numbers had deposited their wealth, defended themselves obstinately against the Romans. They likewise barbarously slew above eight thousand of their own countrymen, and carrying away all the money and treasure, betook themselves to the upper and strongest part of the city, called Zion, situated upon a steep rock, where they threatened to defend themselves to the last, and there tyrannized with more cruelty than ever, till Titus having raised his batteries, and made a breach in the wall, they lost all their courage, and in great consternation abandoned the towers, which were their only strength, and in vain sought to escape by hiding themselves in vaults and privies;

from whence both John and Simon, two ringleaders of their different factions, were dragged out, and the former condemned to perpetual imprisonment, whilst the latter was reserved to grace the triumph of the Roman general.

The Roman became masters of all the city on Saturday the eight of September, and ranging up and down in the streets, killed all that came in their way without distinction, till the narrow passages and alleys were choaked up with carcasses, the kennels ran with blood, and the whole was involved in one general conflagration. To this fatal end was the famous city of Jerusalem reduced, after a siege of about five months, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, and thirty-seven years after our Lord's crucifixion. There perished in this memorable siege no less than 1,100,000 persons, and 97,000 were taken prisoners; besides 237,490 more, (according to Josephus) who fell in the preceding wars. At last, when the soldiers had glutted themselves with rapine and bloodshed, Titus ordered them to lay the walls of the city and temple, and whatever had escaped the flames, level with the ground; which order was so punctually executed, that (except three towers, which for their strength and beauty were left as monuments of the city's stateliness to posterity) the whole was laid so flat, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited; our Saviour's prophecy being thus accomplished, that "one stone of it should not remain upon another."*

Thus ended the Jewish state and economy; and

* Matth. xxiv. 2. Luke xix. 44. and xxi. 6.

their country, which had for some time been governed by the Romans as friends and protectors, was now enslaved, and its inhabitants banished, sold and dispersed throughout all parts of the world; whereby the ancient prediction of the sceptre's departing from Judah was compleatly fulfilled, though it was in some measure accomplished under Herod the Great, as has been before observed. But the last and most dreadful dispersion of the Jews did not happen till the reign of the emperor Adrian, sixty-six years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; for, having entered into a rebellion against the Romans under a false Messiah, they were at length totally subdued, five hundred and eighty thousand of them being slain in several battles and skirmishes, and their whole land laid waste and desolate. Those who survived the general ruin were sold in incredible numbers, of all ages and sexes, in public markets appointed for that purpose. Many of them were transported into Egypt, where some perished by shipwrecks, some by famine, and others were slain like beasts by the Pagans. In a word, they were banished for ever from their native country, and their whole race forbidden to set foot on it, or come within view of Jerusalem, even from the highest mountain, upon pain of immediate death; and thus they became sojourners and strangers in all nations, fugitives and vagabonds throughout the earth, and to this day remain, as monuments of the just judgment of God, a scattered and despised people.

From this final dispersion of the Jewish nation, Jerusalem, which had been rebuilt by Adrian and

called Ælia Capitolina, was inhabited chiefly by Romans and foreigners, having temples and statues in it erected to the heathen deities, which continued standing till the time of Constantine the Great, when Christianity was first established by human laws. That emperor built several churches in Jerusalem, and his pious mother Helen is said to have founded no less than two hundred churches and monasteries in such places of the Holy Land, as were noted for the birth, miracles, and sufferings of our Saviour, or for the residence and actions of the Blessed Virgin, the prophets and apostles. In the year 615, the Persians made themselves masters of this country under their king Chosroes II. but were soon expelled by the emperor Heraclius. It was again conquered in the year 637 by Omar I. Caliph of the Saracens, who kept possession of it (except during part of the reign of Charlemagne) till the year 1079, when they were expelled by the Turks, who lorded it in their stead with equal tyranny. At length Pope Urban II. caused a council to be held at Clermont in France, wherein he solicited the princes of Christendom to undertake the recovery of the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels; upon which began the first Croisade*, or holy war, as it was

* This word is used to signify an expedition against infidels and heretics, particularly against the Turks for the recovery of Palestine, in which vast numbers formerly engaged themselves out of devotion, the Pope's bulls, and the preaching of the clergy of those times, representing it as a point of conscience and a meritorious action. These who intended to go on this errand distinguished themselves by wearing crosses of different colours on their cloaths, those of the English being white, the French red,

called, no less than three hundred thousand men engaging in that service under several leaders, who drove the Turks before them, took most of the strong towns of Syria, and in the year 1099 made themselves masters of Jerusalem. The city was then offered, with the title of king, to Robert duke of Normandy, son of William the conqueror, who declined the honour, in expectation of the kingdom of England: but Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, the chief commander in this expedition, accepted the offer with a religious joy; though he refused to have the crown placed on his head at the time of his inauguration, saying, 'It was not fit for a Christian prince to wear a crown of gold in that city, where the Redeemer of the world wore one of thorns.'

This new kingdom of Jerusalem subsisted eighty-eight years, under a succession of nine several princes, of whom the above-mentioned Godfrey was the first, and Guy of Lusignan the last, for in the year 1187, the Flemish green, the Germans black, and the Italians yellow; and from hence, as well as from the cross they bore in their banners, comes the name of Croisade or Crozado, cruises for the conquest of the Holy Land, or some part of it; the first undertaken in 1095, at the council of Clermont; the second in 1144, under Louis VII; the third in 1188, by Henry II. of England and Phillip Augustus of France; the fourth in 1195, by Pope Celestin III. and the emperor Henry VI. the fifth published in 1198, by order of Innocent III. wherein the French, Germans, and Venetians engaged; the sixth under the same Pope, in 1213, which ended in the rout of the Christian; the seventh resolved at the council of Lyons in 1245, and undertaken by S. Louis, the eighth, which was the second of S. Louis, and the last of all, in 1268.

the third of that king's reign, not only Jerusalem, but the greatest part of the Holy Land, was subdued by the victorious Saladin, sultan of Egypt; whose successors maintained their ground till 1517, when Selimus I. the Turkish emperor, added both Palestine and Egypt to the Ottoman dominions, to which they still continue annexed.

By this time, perhaps, the reader will think he has been sufficiently detained at Jerusalem, -from which city we departed on Wednesday the 1st of May 1734, after we had made a handsome present to the convent for our entertainment, and received from the father-guardian certificates of our having visited all the holy places*. We set out at six in

* Dr. Pococke, a late traveller, has obliged us with a form of one of these certificates, which I have here transcribed for the satisfaction of the curious, “ *Frater Angelicus de Gazolo, ordinis*
 “ *minorum religiosæ observantiæ sancti patris nostri Francisci, lec-*
 “ *tor theologiæ, almæ observantium provinciæ bononiæ pater, et*
 “ *congregationis de propaganda fide responsalis, missionum Æ-*
 “ *gypti et Cypri præfectus, in partibus orientis missionarius et*
 “ *commissarius, totius terræ sanctæ custos, et Montis Zion, nec*
 “ *non sanctissimi sepulchri Domini nostri Jesu Christi guardianus*
 “ *et servus, universis et singulis Christi fidelibus has præsentis lit-*
 “ *eras inspecturis, lecturis, et auditurus, salutem in Domino sem-*
 “ *piternam. Noveritis per illustrem dominum A. B. natione*
 “ *Anglum, devotionis causâ, suscepta peregrinatione ad sancta*
 “ *Palæstinæ et Judææ loca, præsentia et sanctissimâ conversatione*
 “ *salvatoris ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi condecorata, anno à na-*
 “ *tivitate ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo septin-*
 “ *gentesimo trigesimo octavo, die vero trigesimâ mensis Martii*
 “ *Jerosolymam appulisse; inde subsequentibus diebus præcipua lo-*
 “ *ca, seu sanctuaria in quibus operata sunt nostræ redemptionis*
 “ *mysteria, utpote Calvarium, et sepulchrum beatæ Mariæ vir-*
 “ *ginis in valle Jehosaphat, quæ in monte Zion et in monte Oliveti,*

the morning, and in less than three hours arrived at Emmaus, which is about seven miles North-West from Jerusalem, inhabited by Arabs, who obliged us to pay a caphar. One may perceive here the ruins of an ancient castle, and also of a church erected by Paula, a Roman lady, on the spot where the house of Cleophas stood, in memory of our Saviour's being known there to his disciples in breaking of bread*. This place was formerly the see of a bishop, under the metropolitan of Cæsaria, but is now dwindled to an inconsiderable village.

After having taken some refreshment by the side of a fountain, we continued our journey, and about four in the afternoon arrived at Rama, or Ramula, anciently Arimathea, twenty-four miles distant from Jerusalem, and twelve from Joppa. This town stands on a little eminence in the midst of a plain, the streets are narrow, and the houses contemptible; but there are several ruins, especially of Christian churches, which are so many monuments of its once better

“ ceteraque, sive intra sive extra urbis Jerusalem mœnia sita, et quæ
 “ in Bethlehem ubi Salvator nasci dignatus est, et circa Bethlehem,
 “ et in via Bethlehemitica, quæ in montana Judææ, ubi beata virgo
 “ salutavit Elizabeth, ortumque habuit, magni spropheta et præcur-
 “ sor Domini; item et quæ in Nazareth ac universâ continentur Ga-
 “ lilæâ, et reliqua alia loca ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi
 “ gestis memorabilia, ac in via Samariæ, pie et devote visitasse:
 “ in quorum omnium et singulorum fidem, has nostras testimoniales
 “ dedimus propria manu subscriptas, ac figillo officii nostri muni-
 “ tas. Jerosolymis, in nostro conventu S. Salvatoris, die 28 A-
 “ prilis 1738.

L. S. “ Frater Angelicus de Gazola, guardianus sacri montis
 “ Zion, et custos tutius terræ sanctæ.”

* Luke xxiv. 30, 31.

condition. Here are likewise the remains of a monastery built by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, for the accommodation of pilgrims, which still retains the name of Zion-House, and belongs to the Franciscan convent at Jerusalem. Several Europeans reside in Rama, who trade chiefly in oil, soap, and cotton.

The next morning, about ten o'clock, we came to Joppa, now called Jaffa, once a considerable place, but reduced at present to an insignificant village, consisting only of a few cottages, and grottos cut in the rock, some warehouses, and two little towers which command and defend the harbour. It is in reality the port to the neighbouring town of Rama; but the haven is neither safe nor commodious, nor deep enough to admit ships of any great burthen. Joppa is reckoned a very ancient city, and some think it was built by Japhat, and from him called Japho. The Syrians had a garrison here in the time of the Maccabees; and, having a fleet in the harbour, invited two hundred of the principal inhabitants on board, and drowned them; which base treachery was revenged by Judas, who burnt their fleet, and put the men to the sword. It was twice taken by the Romans, and the last time burnt to the ground. On the rocks hereabouts (according to the poetical fiction) Andromeda was chained†, and exposed to a

† The beauty of Andromeda, and the surprise of Perseus when he discovered her in this unhappy situation, are prettily described by Ovid, who has given us the whole story.

“ Quam simul ad duras religatum brachia cautes

“ Videt Abantiades, nisi quod levis auro capillos

“ Moverat, et tepido manarant lumina fletu,

sea-monster, which was killed by Perseus, who set the virgin at liberty, and married her: but Ovid contrary to other writers, makes Ethiopia the scene of this story. It was at Joppa that the prophet Jonah embarked†, when he fled from the presence of the Lord, who had commanded him to go and preach repentance to the people of Nineveh. In this town also Peter raised Tabitha to life‡; and in the same place he had his vision of the sheet full of all sorts of animals let down from heaven||. And here, according to tradition, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and their brother Lazarus, were by the Jews put on board an old shattered bark, and committed to the mercy of the winds and waves.

Having staid two days at Joppa, we got a passage in a small vessel laden with soap, bound to Damietta in Egypt. We set sail on the 4th of May with the wind at North-East, and on the 6th in the morning we found ourselves within six leagues of the Egyptian coast; which the seamen knew, not by a sight

“Marmoreum ratus esset opus. Trahit inscius ignes,

“Et stupet; et, visæ correptus imagine formæ,

“Præne suas quaterne est oblitus in aere pennas.” Metam. L. IV.

Chain'd to a rock she stood; young Perseus stay'd

His rapid flight to view the beauteous maid.

So sweet her frame, so exquisitely fine,

She seem'd a statue by a hand divine,

Had not the wind her waving tresses show'd,

And down her cheeks the melting sorrows flow'd.

Her faultless form the hero's bosom fires;

The more he looks, the more he still admires:

Th' admirer almost had forgot to fly,

And swift descended, flutt'ring from on high. EUSDEN.

† Jonah i. 3.

‡ Acts ix. 40, 41.

|| Acts x. 10, 11, 12.

of it, (for it lies too low for that) but by the depth of the water, it being about the same number of fathoms: and another sign of our approaching land was the sounding plummet's bringing up the black slimy mud of the Nile, which settles at the bottom of the sea, to the distance of seven or eight leagues from the mouths of that river. Towards noon we came to an anchor about two leagues from the land, where the ships usually ride, the mouth of that branch of the Nile, on which Damietta is situated, being choaked by two banks of sand, that make the entrance very difficult. Besides, the people of Damietta, in order to encourage their own navigation, will not suffer the ship-boats of strangers to come up the river; but all goods are carried to and from the shipping by open boats belonging to the town, in the nature of our English lighters. In one of these boats, therefore, which came to unlade our vessel, we were carried to Damietta, where we landed in the evening, and lodged at the the house of an Italian merchant not far from the river.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

EGYPT AND ARABIA.

DAMIATA stands on the East side of the Nile, about four miles distant from the sea, and has been generally mistaken for the ancient Pelusium; whereas that city is now called Tineh, and is situated upon another branch of the river South-East from Damia-ta, the great lake Menzale being interposed between them. This city is large, but most of the buildings are mean; however, I do not pretend to give a particular description of the place, as we had not an opportunity of viewing it with freedom; for the inhabitants are certainly the most ill-natured people in the Turkish dominions, and have such an aversion to the Europeans, that a stranger cannot go into any of the streets, except those that are chiefly inhabited by them without being insulted. At the North end of the town there is a fine round tower, built of hewn stone, which was probably the work of the Mamelukes, after they recovered Damia-ta from the Christians. It is one of the most considerable cities in Egypt for trade, vast quantities of rice and coffee being exported from hence to all parts of Turkey;

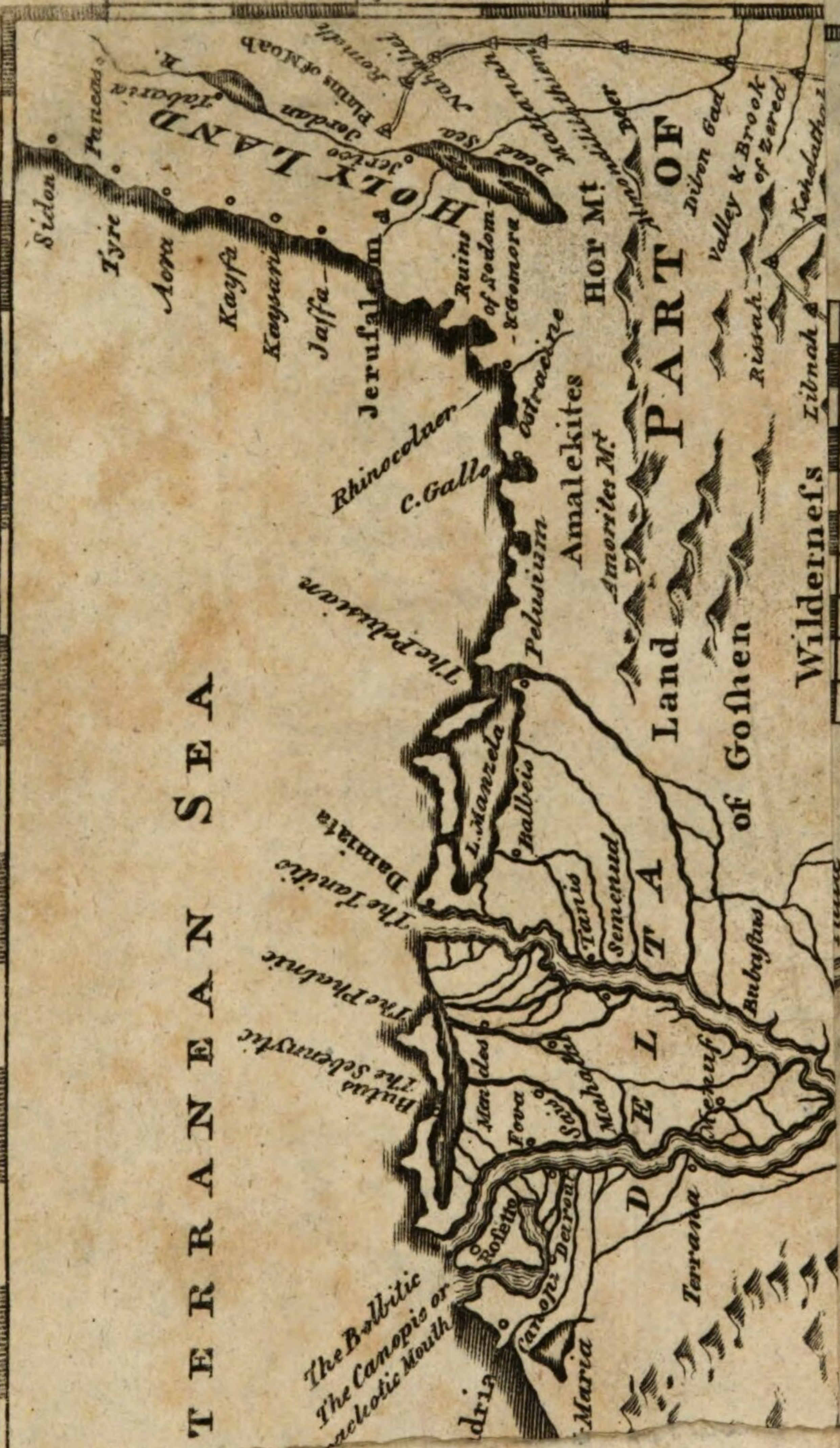
30

32

34

36

TERRANEAN SEA



32

34

Long: East from London.

THE

WINDMILL

THE



THE

THE

and abundance of tobacco imported from Latikea*, and soap from the coasts of Syria and Palestine.

Having hired a bark to carry us to Cairo, we left Damiata on the 8th in the morning; and, the wind being brisk, we had very pleasant sailing up the river, and the prospect on each hand of us extremely delightful. Nothing, indeed, can be imagined more beautiful than the country on each side of the Nile, especially this branch of it; a surprising number of villages, with groves of palm-trees round them, successively presenting themselves to our sight, and the whole being one continued scene of fruitfulness and plenty; though May is not the most advantageous season to take a view of Egypt, December being the month when it appears in its greatest beauty.

The day following we passed by a large town called Mansoura, on the East side of the river, which perhaps is the ancient Tanis, the Zoan of the scriptures†, from whence this branch of the Nile was named the Tanitic branch. During the Holy War, the Christian forces were twice defeated near Mansoura; the first time when the earl of Artois was

* Dr. Shaw tells us, that the inhabitants of the country near Latikea in Syria, have of late neglected both their corn and their vineyards, and employ themselves chiefly in the more profitable culture of tobacco. He adds, that this is a very considerable, and indeed the only article of trade, which hath in a few years greatly enriched that city: for there are annually shipped off from thence, to Damiata and Scandarea, more than twenty thousand bales, to the no small diminution of that branch of trade at Salonica. Shaw's travels, p. 365.

† Numb. xiii. 22.

drowned, and the brave earl of Salisbury died fighting on his knees, the troops being all cut to pieces. Their second overthrow was when the French engaged with Lewis the ninth at their head, who was taken prisoner, and Damietta was given up to the Egyptians as a part of his ransom.

Proceeding on our voyage, we passed by Sammenud on the West, and soon afterwards Abousir, two considerable towns; for I purposely omit the names of most of the villages, which are almost innumerable. Farther up, on the East side, we came to Benalhassar; to the North whereof are evident tokens of an ancient city, which perhaps was Bubastus, famous for the worship of Diana, who had a temple there, and who was called in the Egyptian language Bubastis.

Leaving several other towns of less note behind us, we came to the place where the Nile divided itself into two great branches, one of them (up which we had sailed) running North-East to Damietta, and the other North-West to Rosetta. That tract of land which is inclosed by these two branches of the river, and the Mediterranean, was anciently called Delta from its triangular figure, like the Greek letter of that name and is the most fruitful part of Egypt. There are likewise many smaller branches, or rather canals, from these two large ones, some the work of art and others of nature; but none of them, as far I could learn, are navigable, except those of Rosetta and Damietta. As to the ancient branches of the Nile, some of them have undoubtedly been choaked up for want of being cleaned, and the face of the Delta has undergone so many alterations, that it is very difficult, if not utterly impossible, to settle them at present.

A little above the Delta, about a league to the Eastward of the Nile, is a village called Mattarea, near which are the ruins of Heliopolis, the On of the scriptures*, a city of great antiquity, and famous for its temple dedicated to the sun, the chief object of their worship. They also worshipped a bull, under the name of Mnevis; as that animal was adored at Memphis by the name of Apis. The small remains of this city lie North-East of Cairo, but contain nothing remarkable, except an obelisk, the head of a sphinx or two, and some stones adorned with hieroglyphics. The priests of Heliopolis were the most famous of any in Egypt, for their study of philosophy and astronomy, and were the first that formed the year, making it consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, to which five more were added by Hermes Trismegistus. It is very probable that the country about Heliopolis was the land of Goshen, or of Rameses, inhabited by the children of Israel; especially as Josephus makes that city the place of the first settlement of the Hebrews: and perhaps Cairo might be Rameses, the capital of the district of that name, where the Israelites had their rendezvous before their departure out of Egypt.

The village of Mattarea, and the country for two miles South of it, is remarkable for the excellent water that is found there, upon digging about four feet deep, which is said to be entirely free from salt, and lighter than the water of the Nile. It is certain, that in any part of Egypt, by digging lower than the surface of that river, water may be found; but it

* Gen. xii. 45, 50.

is generally brackish, occasioned by the saltness of the earth through which it is strained.

In three hours sailing from the Delta, we arrived at Bulac, where we landed, having been five days in our passage from Damietta. Bulac is the port to the city of Cairo, which stands about a mile and a half to the Eastward of the Nile. It is near two miles in circumference, and has a custom-house, with many warehouses, and kanes or inns for travellers; but none of its buildings are worth notice, except one, which is a beautiful bagnio. At this place we hired asses to carry us and our baggage to Cairo, where we lodged the first night at an inn, but afterwards at a French merchant's during our stay in that city.

Cairo, or Grand Cairo, by the Egyptians called Al Messer, is the capital of Middle Egypt, and the seat of the Turkish bashaw or viceroy of the whole kingdom. It is a mile and a half distant, as I have already observed, from the Eastern banks of the Nile, and stands in a plain, having a mountain to the South of it, upon which the ancient castle of the Babylonians was situated. Bulac, whose extent was mentioned above, lies a full mile North-West of Grand Cairo; and Old Cairo, which is about two miles in compass, stands higher up the river, a mile and a half South-West of the city. Those travellers, therefore, who have given us such wonderful accounts of the extent of Grand Cairo, and the number of its inhabitants, must have included Old Cairo, Bulac, and perhaps all the neighbouring villages, in the computation, and even then have far exceeded the truth; for Grand Cairo, or the New City, properly so called, is not above ten miles in circumference. We

must allow it, however, to be exceeding populous; several families, to the number of twenty or thirty persons, frequently living in a small house; and the streets in the day-time being so crowded with people, that it is difficult to pass along.

The streets of Cairo, as in most of the Turkish cities, are very narrow and crooked; the widest of them, which runs the whole length of the city, from one gate to another, being no better than such as are usually called lanes in London. This narrowness, however, is attended with one conveniency, that they can lay a slight covering across from the top of one house to another, whereby the streets are agreeably shaded from the sun in the hot season of the year.

Very good regulations are made in Cairo for the security of the city, especially in the night-time; for most of the streets, at least every ward or district, have gates at each end, which are shut up as soon as it is dark, and every one of these divisions is watched by three or four Janizaries; by which means robberies are prevented, and all people obliged to retire early to their several habitations. Some little streets consist of shops only; and they have several bezestines, or exchanges, which are likewise filled with shops, those of the same trade being generally together; and all are locked up at night, the owners retiring to their houses.

I have long ago observed that the private buildings in the Turkish cities make but a very indifferent appearance; and the observation holds particularly good with respect to those in Cairo. The houses of the common people are usually built of sun-dried bricks

or clay, and are two stories high; but those of the richer sort are built of free-stone to a certain height, above which is a kind of cage-work, sometimes filled up with unburnt brick; and, having few or no windows towards the street, they look quite disagreeably to one who has been accustomed to the European cities, where the buildings have something of beauty and regularity on the outside, as well as conveniency and ornament within. Most of the houses have flat terrassed roofs, on which the inhabitants take the air in the summer-evenings.

The best houses in Cairo are built round a court or square, and are richly furnished and adorned within, notwithstanding the meanness of their appearance. Their halls are generally paved with marble, over which are handsome cupolas, sometimes opened at top, to let in the air; the walls and cielings of the principal apartments shine with gold and azure, the sofas are furnished with the richest velvet cushions, and the floors covered with the finest carpets. We were admitted into one of these magnificent houses, said to have been built by Barharites, a sultan of Egypt, who lived towards the end of the thirteenth century. The entrance to the grand apartment is by a fine old door, something in the Gothic taste; but chiefly remarkable for two pillars on each side of it, which, though cut out of one stone, are wrought in such a manner, that each of them appears like two links of a chain, hanging down from the capital to the base. The great salon is in the figure of a Greek cross, with a cupola in the middle; and is wainscotted ten feet high from the floor in a costly and elegant manner. All round

the top, to the depth of two feet, are Arabic inscriptions; underneath which are works of mother-of-pearl and fine marbles, in the form of small arches; and below this it is all done in pannels, round each of which runs a border of mosaic work, composed of pearl, glass, and such-like materials.

Several of the bagnios in Cairo are very handsomely adorned and furnished, being places much resorted to by the Mahometans, both on account of their religious purifications, and for the sake of diversion and refreshments. There are some bagnios on purpose for the women, or certain days set apart for them only, when the men are not admitted; and these times are an agreeable respite to them, from that confinement to which the fair sex is generally subject in the Turkish dominions: but, as I observed in speaking of Constantinople, the ladies of quality, and wives of rich men, are deprived of the pleasure of frequenting the public bagnios, having baths prepared for them in their own houses.

The number of mosques in Cairo is quite incredible, but most of them are poor little buildings scarce eight yards square: however, many of them are magnificent fabrics, and great ornaments to the city. That which seems to me to exceed all the rest, both as to the solidity of its structure, and a certain majestic stateliness which strikes the spectator, is the mosque of sultan Hassan, built at the foot of the hill whereon the castle is situated. It is very lofty, and crowned with a beautiful cornish that projects a great way, and is adorned with grotesque sculptures. Its figure is that of an oblong square, and the entrance to it is finely inlaid with divers sorts of marble, the

top of it being also embellished with carvings after the Turkish manner. The steps, by which it was formerly ascended, are broken down, and the door walled up, it having often served for a shelter to the malecontents in times of public insurrections. On account of the strength of the place, the government now thinks proper to keep a garrison of Janizaries within its district, who are quartered in several adjoining appartments.

There are many mosques in the neighbourhood of the city, as well as within the walls, that deserve a traveller's attention. That called Amrah, said to have been formerly a Christian church, is supported by almost four hundred pillars, amongst which there is so much difference, that they seem to have been collected, together with their capitals, from several ancient buildings. But the mosque, which in my opinion surpasses all the others in beauty and the costliness of its ornaments, is one that stands to the North-East of the city, called Kub-be-el-Azab, that is, the cupola of the Azabs or Azaphs, a body of Turkish infantry, to whom it belongs. It is a noble room about twenty yards square, covered with an elegant and stately dome, raised on a base of sixteen sides, in each of which is a window. It is wainscotted all round, eight feet high from the pavement, with pannels of the choicest marbles, among which are several slabs of red and green porphyry. The borders of the pannels are carved and gilt, and a sort of freeze ranges round, on which Arabic sentences are cut in large gilt characters. The walls above this are likewise adorned with Arabic inscriptions in letters of gold, the whole cupola is gilt and painted in

the finest manner, and all over the mosque hang a great number of glass lamps, ostriches eggs, and such-like glittering ornaments.

The Coptis or Cophts, as the Egyptian Christians are called, have several churches in Cairo, one of which belongs to the patriarch, who resides here, though he takes his title from Alexandria, as well as that of the Greeks. The proper church, however, of the Copti patriarch seems to be that of St. Macarius in Old Cairo, where he is elected and enthroned; and in one quarter of this town these Christians have at least ten or twelve churches, most of which have old ones under them. They generally consist of a nave and two aisles, with galleries over them sustained by pillars; and are adorned with columns in the front, that support the roof. The chancel is separated from the body of the church by a partition, which is frequently beautified with sculptures, and inlaid with ivory, tortoise-shell, and other costly materials. The Greeks have a church dedicated to St. George, for whom the Turks have likewise a great veneration, and accordingly resort thither sometimes to perform their devotions. But the greatest curiosity it affords is a chain with an iron ring fastened to a pillar, which they tell us has such an extraordinary virtue, that three days confinement in it is a certain cure for madness.

The Jews have a synagogue here remarkable for its antiquity, being built, according to their account, about sixteen hundred years ago; and they say that the spot where they usually read the law, was honoured with the presence of the prophet Jeremiah. They have several ancient manuscripts, and among

others they pretend to have one of their law, written by Ezra's own hand; who having omitted, as they say, the name of God out of reverence, wherever it ought to have occurred, found all the vacancies miraculously filled up the day after it was finished. This manuscript they esteem so sacred, that nobody is permitted to touch it; and it is preserved, as we were told, in a niche about ten feet from the ground, before which a curtain is drawn, and lamps are kept continually burning. About two miles out of the city is the place where the Jews bury their dead, which they do in the following manner: they dig a grave five or six feet deep, and on the West side of the bottom of it they make a hole big enough to receive the corpse, where they deposite it, placing broad stones against the holes, and then fill up the grave; for it seems they hold it contrary to their law, to throw earth upon the body.

But to proceed with our description of Grand Cairo. The Khalis, or canal, which comes out of the Nile near Old Cairo, runs quite through the city, and several miles beyond it, and it is probably the Amnis Trajanus of the ancients. Near the mouth of this canal there is a mound or mole, which they break down every year with great rejoicing when the Nile rises to a certain height; and thereby the water is conveyed into the city; and from thence distributed to the gardens and the adjacent country. There are several bridges over this canal, but the houses on each side of them intercept the view of it: however, it is quite dry some months in the year, when it is as a street, and people walk along it from one end to the other. When it begins to be dry, it

is no good neighbour; a stench arising from it that is very offensive to those who live near it, and must needs be unwholesome.

There are likewise several squares about the city, some half a mile, some three quarters round, so contrived as to receive and hold the water of the Nile, which is conveyed into them from the Khalis when the river rises. These ponds or lakes continue above half the year, and afford an agreeable entertainment to the inhabitants about them, who are people of the best fashion of any in the city, and frequently divert themselves in the evening with their ladies in fine boats and barges. Concerts of music, and sometimes fire-works, add to the amusement; and the whole is a delightful sight to the spectators, especially those who view it from the windows of the neighbouring houses. When the waters are gone off, the beautiful scene is changed, and nothing but mud appears; but this is soon succeeded by a more pleasing view of green corn, and afterwards of harvest, in the middle of a great city, and on those very spots where boats were sailing a few months before.

The castle of Cairo, said to have been built by Saladin, is situated upon a rocky hill, on the South side of the city. It has two entrances, both on the North; one of them called the Gate of the Azabs, the other the Gate of the Janizaries. The ascent by the former is narrow, being all the way cut out of the rock; but that by the Gate of the Janizaries is grand and spacious. This castle is a mile and half in compass, and looks like another city, being surrounded by high and thick walls, strengthened with towers after

the ancient manner of fortification; but as it is commanded by a hill to the East, it does not appear capable of sustaining a long siege, whatever it may have done before great guns were invented. On the West side of the castle are remains of very grand apartments, some of which are covered with domes, and adorned with mosaic pictures. It is probable these formerly belonged to the Sultans, and have been since inhabited by the bashaws; but this part of the castle is now taken up by a great number of artificers who work for the government, and are employed in weaving, embroidering, and preparing the hangings and coverings that are annually sent to the temple at Mecca.

From the highest ground in the castle, which is near a magnificent and spacious salon, commonly called Joseph's Hall, we have a most delightful prospect of Cairo, the Pyramids, and all the adjacent country. Here perhaps was the terrace to this grand hall, which is now all open, except to the South side, and is supported by abundance of large columns of red granite. Some of the capitals are good Corinthian, others very plain, and some only marked out in lines like leaves. Each pillar has an Arabic sentence cut round it, and over the pillars and arches there is a sort of wooden freeze, filled with inscriptions in the same language. It is to be questioned, whether this structure was ever finished, and therefore we may conjecture that the first row of pillars in the front were designed for a portico. They seem to have been brought from some ancient buildings, most probably from Alexandria; for columns of one stone were scarce in use among the Egyptians

before the Greeks came into that country, who displayed all their art and magnificence in the building of that city.

Near the middle of the castle is a large court, on the South side of which are the apartments of the bashaw or viceroy, and also the great Divan, in which are to be seen several leathern shields fastened together, each of them almost an inch thick, with the javelin sticking in them, with which they were pierced by sultan Amurath, being preserved as a monument of his strength. Not far from hence is the mint, where they coin their gold, and some small pieces of three farthings value, called Medines, which are bits of iron washed over with silver.

In this castle they likewise pretend to show us the prison in which Joseph was confined; but what has been represented by travellers as the most surprising curiosity of all, is the well which they call Joseph's, not perhaps from the patriarch Joseph, as it has been generally understood, but from a Grand Vizir of that name, who had the direction of the work about seven hundred years ago. However this be, the well certainly deserves the attention of the curious, and therefore requires a particular description. It is cut down through the natural rock; but the stone indeed is soft, and it would have been more difficult to have dug it if the soil had been earth or sand, and to have built a wall round within. We descend to the bottom of this well by a staircase that goes winding round it, above six feet wide, the rock being left at least half a yard thick between this passage and the well, by which we are prevented from falling, or even looking into it, unless it be

through holes that are cut to let in light at convenient distances. The descent is very easy, each step being about six inches high, and five feet broad; but the place is so dirty, that in most parts the steps are hardly perceivable. In this manner we go down to the bottom of the first part of the well, which is a hundred and fifty feet deep; when turning to the right, we come into a large chamber (if I may call it so) cut out of the rock, where oxen, by means of wheels, raise the water out of the lower part of the well to the bottom of the upper part, from whence it is drawn to the top by another set of oxen above. This lower well is not so wide as the former, and the descent is difficult and dangerous, the stairs being narrow, wet, and dirty, and no partition left between them and the well to prevent your falling. It is likewise dug through the rock, and is a hundred and twenty feet deep, which added to the number of the upper part make two hundred and seventy feet in all; and yet this falls short of the calculation of other travellers. As the bottom of this well is probably on a level with the bed of the Nile, or rather lower, it is constantly supplied with water; but passing through the salt soil, it is not good to drink, being a little brackish, and fit only for common uses; however, it is distributed in pipes to different parts of the castle.

Having described this well, it seems natural to say something of the aqueduct, by which a supply of better water is brought to the castle from the river itself. At the North end of Old Cairo is a plain but magnificent hexagon building, each side of it being above fourscore feet in length, and as many in height,

said to have been erected by Campion, the last but one of the Mameluke kings of Egypt. It has an easy ascent on the outside for the oxen to go up, that turn the wheels which raise the water to the top of it from the reservoirs below, into which it is let from the Nile by a channel cut for that purpose. Five oxen, and the same number of wheels, are employed in drawing the water to the top of the buildings, where it runs into a large bason, and from thence into the aqueduct that conveys it to the castle. The aqueduct itself, which is built in the rustic style, makes a grand appearance, though uniformity has not been regarded in it, the arches and piers being of different dimensions; but the latter are mostly about ten feet wide, and the former from ten to fifteen. The arches are about three hundred in number*, and some of them are very lofty, but grow lower as they approach the hill, where the water running into a reservoir is from thence raised up to the castle by several wheels one above another.

To the South of the castle lies a kind of ancient suburbs called Caraffa, at the entrance whereof are some magnificent tombs covered with cupolas, supposed to be the monuments of Egyptian kings, or of the caliphs, the relations of Mahomet, who conquered this country; and the people have such a veneration for them, that they will not permit either Jews or Christians to pass by them without alighting from their

* Travellers are not agreed as to the number of these arches. They are not reckoning no less than three hundred and fifty, whereas Dr. Pococke makes them only two hundred and eighty-nine; and others vary from both these computations.

asses, as an expression of their respect. Caraffa seems to have been anciently a sort of university for the study of law and divinity, but great part of it is now in ruins, especially the colleges and convents of Dervises, of which there were formerly a surprising number. About forty of these religious now live together in a convent at a place called Cassaraline, a little way North from the mouth of the Khalis, where there are fine gardens planted with orange, lemon, and other fruit-trees. Their mosque is a handsome square building, covered with a beautiful cupola; and at the entrance of it, are hung up several curiosities, chiefly of the wonderful kind, collected by the Dervises in their travels; particularly a giant's boot, a pipe of an extraordinary size, and such-like trifles. These monks affect no uncommon sanctity, and are civil and communicative to strangers. They are not the dancing Dervises, of which sort there are none in Egypt, if I am rightly informed.

One day we took the pains to climb up to the top of Jebel Duise, a mountain which perhaps has been separated by art from that whereon the castle stands, and by which it is commanded, as has been already observed. At the East end of it are several grottos, some of which are inaccessible, but those we could come at were rooms of ten or twelve feet square, and pretty lofty. Here is likewise a mosque which takes its name, as well as the hill, from the sheik Duise, who was buried in it; as were his children at a little distance from it, together with the sons of several bashaws. Not far from the mosque is a solid building of stone, ascended by ten steps, and about a yard square at the top, on which a sheik (or priest)

goes to prayers upon extraordinary occasions, as at the commencement of a war, or when the Nile does not rise so high as is requisite to make a plentiful season; and such oratories they have about most towns in the Turkish dominions. On the North-West summit of the hill, are two caves cut out of the rock, with holes through the roof to let in light; and above these is a place to which people ascend for the sake of enjoying one of the finest prospects in Egypt, taking in the castle and city of Cairo, and all the country round, especially the Delta, as far as the eye can penetrate. We descended the hill on the North side by a very easy way, practicable by camels themselves; whereas the ascent on the South is nothing but a winding foot-path up the side of the mountain, where it is almost perpendicular. There is a quarry of good free-stone in this hill, which is much used in the buildings of Cairo.

After we had pretty well satisfied ourselves with viewing what was most remarkable in the city of Cairo and its neighbourhood, we determined to cross the Nile, and pay a visit to the famous pyramids, those wondrous monuments of the wealth and grandeur of the ancient kings of Egypt. With this intent we hired asses, took with us three days provisions, and two Janizaries armed with sword and musquet, each of us also carrying a fowling-piece, as well for our diversion, as for a security against the Arabs. We set out betimes in the morning for Old Cairo, where we made a short stay to take a view of the granaries commonly called Joseph's, which indeed are nothing but square courts encompassed with walls about five yards high, strengthen-

ed with semicircular buttresses. These courts are filled with corn, brought down from Upper Egypt for the use of the soldiers, and distributed amongst them as part of their pay; which, however, they generally convert into ready money. As the granaries are open at top, the grain is covered with matting; but nevertheless, the birds sometimes find means to come at it, for which a certain allowance is made to the keeper of this magazine. There is a slight fence of canes round the tops of the walls, which a thief must necessarily break down before he can carry off any corn; so that it seems designed, not to prevent robberies, but to give notice when they have been committed.

The town of Old Cairo is the port to the new city for all boats that arrive from Upper Egypt, as Bulac is for those which come up from the Delta. In general the buildings are ruinous, but there are many good houses in it, and the inhabitants are pretty numerous. Three or four Franciscans live here in a neat little house, belonging to the convent of those fathers at Jerusalem, of whose welfare we gave them an account. Near the South corner of Old Cairo are the remains of an extensive structure, supposed to have been a sort of castrum for the Roman troops at Babylon, which town was probably situated on a neighbouring mountain, now called Jehusi, and was founded by some captives who escaped from Babylon on the Euphrates. This castle is at present called Kieman, is built of small hewn stone intermixed with layers of brick, and has several large round towers, one of which is converted into a Greek nunnery. As it is inhabited by Christians, there are



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two or three churches in it; but some parts of the building are entirely destroyed, and the rest in a ruinous condition; it having often been the refuge of factious and rebellious parties.

Hastening from Old Cairo, we crossed the Nile near the pleasant island of Roida, (of which hereafter) to the opposite village of Gize or Geeza, where the ancient Memphis is generally supposed to have been situated, though the ruins of that famous city are so completely buried or removed, that not the least trace of them are now to be discovered. About ten miles to the Westward of this place, upon a ridge of rocky hills on the borders of the Lybian deserts, stand those three vast pyramids, so justly the admiration of all that behold them. There are many others, indeed, dispersed up and down; but most of them are so much inferior in bulk to any of the former, that travellers take little notice of them, confining their observations chiefly to the three which appear most considerable. The hill, on which they are situated, rises with an easy ascent from the plains of Egypt about a hundred feet; and the rock consists of such free-stone as is used in the pyramids themselves.

The largest of these pyramids, which has suffered least by time and weather, is six hundred ninety-three English feet square at the basis, and its perpendicular height is four hundred ninety-nine feet; but if we take it as the pyramid ascends inclining, then the height is equal to the breadth of the basis, namely, six hundred and ninety-three feet, the angles and the base making an equilateral triangle. The whole area, therefore, of the basis contains four hundred

eighty thousand two hundred and forty-nine square feet, which is something more than eleven acres of ground.

This pyramid is ascended on the outside by steps, which are from two feet and a half to four feet in height, and broad in proportion, being placed in such a manner, that a line stretched from the bottom to the top would touch the angle of every step, if the stones were not washed and impaired by the air and rain; but they are so worn and mouldered away at present, that they cannot conveniently be ascended, except on the South side, or the North-East angle. Each step is one entire stone, many of them thirty feet in length, and the number of steps from the bottom to the top is two hundred and seven*. The day being warm, we had no small fatigue and difficulty in clambering up to the summit of this pyramid, which does not end in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, and as it appears to those that view it from below, but in a square platform, consisting of nine large stones, besides two that are wanting at the angles. Each side of this platform is above sixteen feet, so that some scores of people may stand upon it, and from thence enjoy one of the finest prospects the world affords.

Many travellers have reported, that a man cannot shoot an arrow from the top of this pyramid beyond

* This is Mr. Greaves' number, but travellers differ strangely in their computations, perhaps from their having ascended the pyramid at different places. Sandys makes the steps two hundred and fifty-five, Lewenstein two hundred and sixty; Thevenot and Maillet reckon two hundred and eight, and Dr. Pocock counted two hundred and twelve, though he thinks that Greaves and Maillet come nearest the truth.

its basis, but that it will fall upon some part of the structure; whereas it is certain, that a good bow and a strong arm will send an arrow much farther. The story of these pyramids casting no shadow is of equal credit with the former; for though indeed they cast none at noon day for almost three quarters of the year, yet in winter at noon, and every morning and evening in the year, they certainly cast a shadow proportionable to their bulk: and we may remember that Thales of Miletus, above two thousand years ago, took the height of these pyramids by their shadows, as we are informed by Pliny and Laertius.

We descended the same way we went up, till we came to the entrance of this pyramid, which is sixteen steps from the bottom. It is about three feet high, and as many wide, running downwards with a steep descent for ninety-two feet and a half. Having passed through this streight with lighted torches, the farther end whereof is so narrow that we were forced to creep upon our bellies, we came into a wider place, where we saw a great many bats of an uncommon size. From hence we got into another passage five feet in height, and a hundred and ten in length, through which we ascended to two galleries, one of them running horizontally, and the other rising upwards in the same direction with the passage. The ascending gallery is a very stately one, not inferior either in materials or workmanship to the most magnificent buildings. It is paved and lined with white polished marble, cut in vast squares or tables; and the joints are so close, that they are scarce discernible. The height of this gallery is twenty-six feet, and the breadth six, having benches on each

side of polished stone. Passing from hence through a square hole into some closets or little chambers, lined with Thebaic marble, we enter a very noble hall, standing in the centre of the pyramid, equally distant from all the sides, but somewhat nearer the basis than the top. The length of this hall is thirty-four feet, its breadth seventeen, and its height nineteen and a half. Its floor, sides, and roof are all of Thebaic marble; and the stones are of a vast size, especially those that form the roof, lying across the room like so many huge beams, and supporting the enormous weight of the pyramid above.

Within this glorious hall stands a tomb, supposed to be that of Cheops or Chemmis, king of Egypt, the founder of this pyramid. It is of one entire piece of marble, hollowed, and uncovered at the top, and sounds like a bell on being struck. Some say, that the corpse has been removed from hence, but probably it was never laid here; for Diodorus, above sixteen hundred years ago, writes, that Chemmis and Chephron, the builders of the next pyramid, notwithstanding they designed these structures for their sepulchres, were neither of them buried in them, the people being exasperated by the hardships they had undergone in erecting them, and threatening to tear their dead bodies in pieces; whereupon they commanded their friends to bury them privately in some obscure place. This tomb is of the same kind of stone with which the whole room is lined, being a streaked marble, with black, white, and red spots, which some call Thebaic marble, but others take it to be a sort of porphyry, the *Leucostictos* of Pliny, whereof there were, and still are, a vast number of columns in Egypt.

The figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely set together; and the stone is smooth and plain, without any sculpture or ornament. The outward superficies is seven feet three inches and a half in length, three feet three inches and three quarters in depth, and much the same in breadth; but the hollow part within is little more than six feet long, two feet deep, and as many broad. It is not easy to conceive how the tomb was brought into the place where it now stands, it being impossible it should enter by the narrow passages above described; which makes most people conclude, that it was raised up thither from without, before the roof of the chamber was closed: but why may not we conjecture, with an ingenious modern writer, that there was some way left to come at this hall, which is not yet discovered? For it is scarcely credible that any prince should direct his dead corpse to be dragged to his sepulchre through such impracticable passages.

The position of the tomb is exactly North and South*, and equally distant from all sides of the

* One thing very remarkable in this first pyramid is, that the sides of it stand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and consequently mark the true meridian of the place; which precise position could not well have been owing to chance, but was in all probability the effect of art and design: and that it really was so, seems confirmed by the same position of the tomb within: so that this ancient structure is a true and permanent proof of the early progress of the Egyptians in the science of astronomy. M. de Chazelles, an excellent mathematician, who took the dimensions of this pyramid in the year 1693, at the same time observed the exactness of its situation; which being designedly pitched upon (as we may reasonably suppose) by those who raised

room except the East, from whence it is placed as far again as it is from the West. Under it there is a little hollow space dug away, and a large stone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining to it, which was probably done in hopes of finding some hidden treasure; it being a superstitious prodigality practised by the ancients, and continued to this day in the East-Indies, to conceal money in their sepulchres.

As to the horizontal passage above-mentioned, which is a hundred and ten feet in length, it leads us to an arched vault or chamber, standing due East and West, of a grave-like smell, and half full of rubbish. It is about seventeen feet long, and fifteen broad; the walls are entire, and plaistered over with lime; and the roof is covered with large smooth stones, not lying flat, but shelving, and meeting above in an angle. Near the entrance into this passage is the well mentioned by Pliny, which is circular, and three feet in diameter. It is lined all the way down with white marble, and the descent into it is by fixing ones hands and feet in little open spaces cut in the sides within, opposite and answering to one another in a perpendicular; which is the contrivance for descending into many of the wells and cisterns in Egypt.

This is all that is to be seen in the first pyramid;

this vast pile above three thousand years ago, it follows, that during so long a space of time there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or (which amounts to the same thing) in the poles of the earth or the meridians; as M. Fontenelle has observed in his elogium of the above-mentioned gentleman.

but there is one thing more to be observed, which is a surprising echo, taken notice of by Plutarch, who says that it answers four or five times; wherein he does not exceed the truth. The long-continued noise which is heard on discharging a musquet at the entrance into the pyramid is very remarkable; but this effect may be accounted for by considering, that the sound being shut in, and carried in the smooth narrow passages already described, as in so many pipes or trunks, to the middle of the pyramid, finding no issue out, reflects upon itself, causing a circulation of the air and a confused noise, which by degrees dies away as the motion ceases.

A very little to the South of the first pyramid stands the second, supposed to have been built by Chephron, the brother of Cheops. The stones thereof are white, but not near so large as those of the former; nor do the sides rise by degrees or steps, like the other, but are plain and smooth; and the whole structure, except on the South, seems very entire, and free from any considerable breaches. Its dimensions, both as to height and breadth, are almost equal to those of the first, and its ascent appears to be somewhat steeper. A hole has been made some way up, on the North side of this pyramid, in order to find an entrance, as it is reasonable to conjecture; but none has been yet discovered, nor is it known whether there be any rooms or apartments within, though it is highly probable there are, this being designed for the sepulchre of an Egyptian king, as well as the former. On the North and West sides of the pyramid is a fosse, about ninety feet wide, and thirty deep; along which are a great number of

apartments hewn out of the solid rock, supposed to have been designed for lodgings for the Egyptian priests. We enter into them by square openings, much of the same size with the narrow passages of the first pyramid; and many of the chambers have a communication with others behind them, which are dark and full of rubbish.

The third pyramid stands about a furlong from the second, on an advantageous rising of the rock, which makes it seem equal to the former at a distance, though the pile be much less and lower. Each side of its basis is about three hundred feet, and its height is much the same. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and some other ancient writers, affirm, that the greater part of this pyramid was built (or cased at least) with black or Ethiopic marble: but whatever it may formerly have been, it is strange that several of the moderns should describe it in the same manner; for the whole appears to be built of a clear whitish stone, somewhat better and brighter than that of either of the former pyramids. All round it one may see the remains of the granite it was adorned with, which has been pulled down, and most of it carried away, but some few pieces of it still continue in their places. This pyramid is said to have been built by Mycerinus, whose name was engraved on the North side of it, according to Diodorus, but no such inscription is to be seen at present.

Having been thus particular in the description of these three greatest pyramids of Memphis, or of Gize, as they are now called, it would be needless to say much of those that are to be seen in other parts of Egypt, most of them (as I have already intimated) being

much inferior to these in magnitude, except one that stands near the mummies, whose dimensions and structure are pretty near the same with those of the first and largest pyramid above described. It may be proper, however, to observe, that they are not all of the same form, some of them being quadrilateral, others round and pointed at top like a sugar-loaf; some rising with a greater, and others with a lesser inclination.

Who were the builders of these wonderful structures, has been a subject of much dispute. Some pretend they were erected by the patriarch Joseph for granaries, to lay up the corn of the seven plentiful years against the ensuing famine, and, to support this imagination, derive the name Pyramid from Pyros, a Greek word signifying wheat; whereas it is generally supposed to come from Pyr, which in the same language signifies fire, because a mathematical pyramid terminates in a point like flame. But the opinion, that these pyramids were built for granaries, is entirely groundless and absurd; for besides that their figure is the most improper of any for that purpose, the few rooms or cavities within them (the greatest part of them being nothing but solid piles of stone) do utterly overthrow such a conjecture.

Others suppose these fabrics to have been erected by the Israelites, during their heavy bondage under the tyranny of the Pharaoh's; and this is supported by the authority of Josephus, who says, that when time had extinguished the memory of the benefits of Joseph, and the kingdom was transferred to another family, the Israelites were treated with

great rigour, and wasted by various labours. They were ordered to cut canals to receive the waters of the Nile; to raise walls and cast up banks, to hinder the inundation of that river from drowning their towns and villages; and, amongst other oppressions, they were employed in building the vast pyramids in question. But the scriptures do not seem to favour this opinion, for according to them the slavish employments of the Israelites was the making of bricks, whereas all these pyramids are of stone. This, however, cannot be called a positive confutation of the hypothesis under consideration; for though the Israelites, a little before their departure out of Egypt, might be employed in making bricks, it by no means follows, that they were never employed in any other works. And when is it more likely that the Egyptian kings should undertake these prodigious structures, than when they had so many hundred thousand slaves in their dominions, whom they seemed under a necessity of keeping continually in action, to prevent their breaking out into rebellion?

According to Herodotus, the first or greatest of the three pyramids above described was built by Cheops, whom Diodorus names Chemmis; for that they are one and the same person may easily be made appear. Both those historians agree that the second was erected by Chephron, brother and successor to the former prince: and the third is said to have been raised by Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, as we have already mentioned. Some of the Greeks indeed pretend that this last was built by a courtezan named Rhodopis or Rhodope: but this is very improbable, considering her condition and the vastness of

the expence; and besides, Herodotus has shown that she did not live till a long time after these pyramids were in being. After all, the above-cited authors ingenuously confess, that there is little agreement either among the natives of Egypt, or ancient historians, with respect to the founders of any of the pyramids we are speaking of; and the Arab writers are under the same uncertainty, some attributing them to Nimrod, others to queen Daluka, and others concluding that they must have been built before the flood, or else the memory of the founders would have been better preserved.

Since it is uncertain who were the founders of the pyramids, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were erected; especially as nothing can be more precarious than the Egyptian chronology. However, if we do not allow them to be so ancient as the time of the Israelites being in Egypt, (which yet appears to me a very probable conjecture) we must grant them to be about three thousand years old; since Herodotus who lived two thousand two hundred years ago, was able to find so little satisfaction in his enquiries concerning them; and Diodorus, who lived before the birth of our Saviour, supposes the great pyramid to have been built at least a thousand years before his time.

The next thing disputed is the end for which these pyramids were erected; but most travellers, and authors who have wrote upon this subject, are of opinion that they were intended for sepulchral monuments. Diodorus tells us expressly, that Chemmis and Chephron designed to have had their bodies deposited in the pyramids they built, though it was ordered otherwise for a reason above-mentioned;

and Strabo judges all those near Memphis to have been royal sepulchres. To this the writings of the Arabs are consonant; but if none of these authors were extant, the tomb which remains to this day in the first pyramid is sufficient to put the matter beyond all controversy.

Why the Egyptian kings should put themselves to the vast expence of building these pyramids, is an enquiry of a higher nature. Aristotle makes them to have been the works of tyranny; and Pliny conjectures that they built them partly for ostentation of their power and grandeur*, and partly out of state-policy, to divert the people from mutinies and insurrections by keeping them in employment. It is very probable they might in some measure be influenced by these motives, but there is another reason to be given for these great undertakings, arising from the theology of the Egyptians, who not only believed the resurrection, but that as long as the body endured, so long the soul continued with it; which last was also the opinion of the Stoics. Hence it was, that the Egyptians took that excessive care to embalm

* “ Pliny (says M. Rollin) gives, in a few words, a just idea of
 “ these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostenta-
 “ tion of the wealth of the Egyptian kings, “ *Regum pecuniæ otio-*
 “ *sa ac stulta ostentatio:*” and adds, that by a just punishment their
 “ memory is buried in oblivion, historians not agreeing among
 “ themselves about the names of those who first raised these vain
 “ monuments. “ *Inter eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, just-*
 “ *issimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.*” In a word,
 “ according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the industry of
 “ the architects of these pyramids is no less valuable and praise
 “ worthy, than the design of the Egyptian kings contemptible
 “ and ridiculous.” Rollin’s Ancient History, Vol. I. Ch. 2. Sect. 2.

the dead in order to preserve them from corruption, that so the souls of the deceased might long remain about their respective bodies, not to animate or quicken them, but only as attendants or guardians, unwilling to leave their former habitations: and upon the same account they inclosed them in the most durable buildings, endeavouring thereby, as much as in them lay, to render them eternal.

The reason why the Egyptians frequently made use of the pyramidal figure for these monuments, (for they were not always of that shape) seems to have been, because it is the most permanent form of structure, being neither overpressed with its own weight, by reason of its gradual contracting and lessening from the bottom to the top, nor so subject to the sinking in of the rain as other buildings. Besides, they might hereby intend to represent their gods; pyramids, and obelisks which are only a lesser sort of pyramids, being anciently, both by them and other heathens, erected and worshipped as images of several deities.

In what manner these wonderful structures were built, and by what contrivance the stones, especially those vast ones of the first pyramid, were raised to that height, has also been the subject of much speculation. Herodotus, whose expressions are not very clear, supposes, that when they had laid the first range, they raised other stones thither from the ground, by wooden engines, which formed the second row; and by an engine placed upon that, they drew, up the stones that composed the third; there being as many engines as layers of stone, or but one engine that might be removed as there was occasion:

and also adds, that the highest parts were finished, and the rest in order, down to the very lowest. Diodorus imagines the work was done by the help of mounds, which he says the Egyptians pretended were raised of salt and nitre, and that they were dissolved and washed away by letting in the river. Our learned and ingenious countryman, Mr. Greaves, supposes that they first built a large tower, the height of the intended pyramid, to the sides whereof the rest of the building was applied, piece after piece, like so many buttresses, still lessening in height, till at last they came to the lowest degree. Another conjecture has been made, which, if true, would make the labour bestowed on the pyramids much less than is imagined; and that is, that they took the advantage of building round a hill when they began one of these structures. If this be the case, we may suppose the great pyramid inclosed two rocky hills, the present entrance probably being on the top of the one, and the grand chamber with the tomb in it on the top of the other. In a matter of this uncertainty, every one must be left to his own conjectures; but as for those above-mentioned, they appear to me to be liable to many objections; nor do I see any reason for endeavouring to lessen the difficulty of erecting the structures in question, since the wealth of the Egyptian kings and the number of workmen employed were undoubtedly adequate to such vast undertakings.

Nothing seems more surprising to me, than what the ancients tell us, that the immense quantities of stone made use of in these stupendous fabrics were brought either from Arabia, Thebais, or Ethiopia,

The ten years which they assign for hewing them out of the quarries, and conveying them from such a distance to the place where the pyramids were erected, are in my opinion too little for that purpose. But upon examination it appears most probable, that the greatest part of the materials were dug from the rock on which they stand, and that only the marble of the rooms and passages within, and the outside casing, (if any such there were, as is generally supposed) was fetched from those distant quarries.

Enough has been said to give the reader an idea of the magnificence of the Egyptian pyramids, to confirm which I shall only add what Diodorus tells us, that the number of men employed in building the first or greatest of the three was 860,000, and Pliny makes them six thousand more; large bodies of them relieving one another at stated periods, and alternately taking their turns of rest and labour. It is agreed that twenty years were spent from the beginning to the finishing of the work; and Herodotus adds, that in his time there was an inscription on the pyramid, declaring how much had been expended only in radishes, onions, and garlic for the workmen, being no less than sixteen hundred talents of silver, or about £400,000 sterling; from whence we may judge to what prodigious sums the whole expence must have amounted.

Before I leave this place, I must take some notice of a colossus, at least the head of one, which stands about a quarter of a mile to the East of the second pyramid. It is usually called a sphinx, which is a fabulous monster, having the head and breasts of a woman, the wings of a bird, the claws of a lion, and

the body like a dog. This figure, among the Egyptians, was a symbolical representation of the rising of the Nile in the months of July and August, when the sun passes through the signs Leo and Virgo. They likewise made use of it in their hieroglyphics to represent a harlot; intimating the danger of being captivated by the charms of a faithless woman, whom the fond lover in the end finds as cruel and rapacious as a lion. Of this sphinx however, near the pyramids, there is little to be discerned but from the shoulders upwards, being a monstrous bust of a woman, all cut of the solid rock, and never separated from it; except the upper part of the head, which seems to be adventitious. It is almost thirty feet high, fifteen feet from the ear to the chin, and above thirty feet wide at the lower part of the neck or beginning of the breast. The sand is so accumulated about it, that one can but just discover the top of the back, in which there is a hole about five feet long, seventy-five from the hinder part of the neck, and thirty from the tail. We could not get up to the top of the head, but those who have done it report, that there is a round hole, by which a full-grown person may descend into it, from whence it is supposed the artful priests delivered their oracles. Pliny makes mention of this sphinx; and tells us that it was thought to be the sepulchre of king Amasis. The rock is dug away all round the sphinx to a considerable distance, and the stone was undoubtedly employed in building the pyramids, with which some moderns have supposed it has a subterraneous communication.

About nine or ten miles South of the three great

pyramids are the famous catacombs or mummy-pits of Saccara, to which village we were safely conducted by our Janizaries, and there procured ourselves a very indifferent lodging. The next morning, before sun-rise, we went to the neighbouring plain, in company with the person who has the superintendence of the catacombs, and several of his servants, who take care to be well paid for the trouble they are at in gratifying the curiosity of strangers. The usual method of letting people down into the pits, where the mummies or embalmed bodies are deposited, is by ropes, which is painful enough; though there are holes in the sides to descend by, as in the well of the pyramid above-mentioned, but most of them are so worn away, that it is dangerous to go down in that manner, if not impracticable.

The first pit they let us down into was about five and twenty feet deep, cut through a slaty rock, except the upper part, which was sand, but cased with unburnt brick, which seemed to be very ancient. At the bottom of the pit we found a passage five feet wide and forty in length, which brought us into a square arched room, where we saw several remains of embalmed bodies, and many of the swathes scattered up and down, some of them almost entire. A few of the bodies I observed had been done up in the boughs of palm-trees, which were tied together at each end, and, being rotten, appeared like rushes.

Being not satisfied with what we found in this catacomb, we gave a small piece of money to be let down into another, where we had the satisfaction to find several coffins standing upright and entire, this pit having been but lately opened. These coffins, or mummy-chests,

are very thick, and made of a kind of sycamore, by the Egyptians called Pharaoh's fig-tree, which, though spongy and porous to appearance, will continue sound above three thousand years, for so long it has lain in these subterraneous apartments. The top of the coffin is usually cut into the shape of a head, with a face painted on it, resembling a woman; the rest is one continued trunk, and at the end of it is a broad pedestal to set it upright upon in the reconditory. Round the pedestals of the coffins are sometimes ranged a number of little images of various colours, as if they were designed for so many guardian genii and attendants. Most of the coffins are adorned with hieroglyphics, and some of them richly gilt and painted, either with the figure of some tutelar deity, or that of the deceased.

The bodies usually appear in this manner: they are wrapped up in a shroud of linen, upon which are also fastened divers scrolls of linen, painted with sacred characters. These scrolls generally run down the belly and sides, or else are placed on the knees and legs. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linen cloth fitted with plaister, on which the countenance of the person is represented in gold; and the feet have also a cover of the same, fashioned like a high slipper, and painted with hieroglyphics. The whole body is swathed with fillets, or narrow bands of linen, beginning with the head, and ending with the feet, which are wound round in such a curious and inimitable manner, with so many casts and turnings, and so often one upon another, that it is supposed there are seldom less than a thousand ells of filleting about one body. Those especially which

cover the head and face are so neatly done, that they do not hinder us from perceiving the shape of the eyes, nose, and mouth, though they are hid from our sight. On the breast is a sort of breast-plate, made with folds of linen cut scollop-wise, richly painted and gilt; on which is sometimes the face of a woman with her arms expanded.

Upon opening one of the coffins, we found the head of the mummy full of a composition of the consistence, colour, and smell of pitch, but something more fragrant; which must, as Herodotus intimates, have been injected through the nostrils; to which end, as well for the easier extraction of the brain, we found, upon examination, that the *septum medium* of the nose had been taken away. Having unfolded the bandage, that part of it which more immediately surrounded the body was quite rotten, and would not bear handling without falling to pieces, whereas a great number of yards of the exterior part appeared as strong as we can suppose it to have been the first day it was applied. Scarce any of the muscular parts were preserved, except upon the thighs; and even those, upon touching them crumbled to powder.

The last of the catacombs we visited was that called the well or pit of the birds, which is about thirty feet deep; from whence we made our way, through a passage almost choaked with sand, into apartments much more magnificent than those we had seen before, being the sepulchres of birds and other animals worshipped by the ancient Egyptians; for these they embalmed and wrapped up with the same care as they did human bodies, depositing them in earthen

vases covered over and stopped close with mortar. These vases, or urns, are of a conical figure, of which we saw a great number, most of them containing an ibis, (one of their sacred birds) whereof the bill, bones, and the very feathers, are admirably well preserved. In one of the rooms we saw several large vases, which probably were for dogs and other animals; some of which have been found, but they are rarely to be met with at present.

I should have observed before, that the mummy-chests, or coffins, are not always of wood, some few of them being found of stone; and of the wooden ones, some are made of planks, and others hollowed out of one piece of timber. There are also coffins made only of linen-cloth gummed or glued together, which nevertheless are as durable as the others. Those who had coffins, we may suppose, were people of good condition, whose families could bear the expence; whereas the poorer sort had no coffins, but were wrapped up in reeds or branches of palm, as I have already observed. It is likewise probable that these inferior persons were piled up one upon another, whereas the others stood upright upon the pedestals of their coffins.

In these catacombs we likewise find several square boxes, usually painted with hieroglyphics or symbolical figures, having upon their lids the representation of a hawk cut in wood, and sometimes of a dog or other animal. Within these boxes, one of which was originally placed at the feet of each mummy, are inclosed various small instruments and utensils, denoting the trade or occupation of the embalmed person when he was alive. As to the piece of money

said to be lodged in the mouth of each mummy, and the idols inclosed in their breasts or bellies, we could make no such discovery: and yet abundance of little images, some of marble or alabaster, others of copper, and others of baked earth, are sold in Egypt as having been found in these repositories. I am apt to think, that many of them have been really taken from thence; however, it is the interest of the people of Saccara, who are the chief venders of such antiquities, that this opinion should prevail, and doubtless they encourage it as much as possible. The Europeans indeed purchase them at easy rates, for the Turks have very little curiosity, and esteem things of this nature no farther than the value of the materials.

It seems natural, before I leave this subject, to say something of the Egyptian manner of embalming human bodies, by which curious art many have been preserved entire through such a long succession of ages. For our account of this matter we are chiefly indebted to Herodotus and Diodorus; and the reason why they took this pains to keep their dead bodies from corruption has been already assigned in speaking of the pyramids, namely, that the souls of the deceased might continue near them, and not enter into other animals. And having found out means of making the body durable, their next care was to provide repositories for it, which might be equally lasting, and in which it might remain safe from all violence and injury. They were therefore, as Diodorus tells us, not very solicitous about the structure of their houses, which they called inns; but spared

no cost or labour in building and adorning their sepulchres, which they termed eternal mansions.

But to return from this short digression. When a man of any consideration died amongst the ancient Egyptians, all the women of the family besmeared their hands and faces with dirt, left the body in the house, and went about the streets lamenting and beating themselves, with their garments girt about them, and their breasts uncovered; the men at the same time forming another company, and mourning in the same manner. After this, the body was carried to those who professed the art of embalming, which, like other trades, they learnt from their ancestors. These showed the kindred of the deceased several models or patterns made of wood, painted like an embalmed body; giving them also an account of the expence that would attend each manner of preparation, and asking them which they would chuse; for it is to be observed, there were three different ways of preparing a corpse for burial. One of them was very exquisite and expensive, the charge being a talent of silver, or about two hundred and fifty-eight pounds sterling; the second was inferior, and of a more moderate price, being twenty minæ, or a fourth part of the former sum; the third was very mean, and cost but a trifle.

This preliminary being settled, the embalmers took the body, and first drew out the brains through the nostrils with a crooked instrument of iron, filling up the vacancy with certain medicaments, whose consistence, colour, and smell, (as taken out of the skulls at this day) have been already described. Then the scribe or secretary, as they called him, marked on the

left side of the belly, how far the incision was to be made; which a certain officer accordingly cut open with a sharp Ethiopic stone, and immediately ran away as fast as he could, all that were present pursuing him, throwing stones after him, and loading him with execrations; for they thought it a heinous crime to wound or offer any violence to the bodies of their fellow-creatures: but the embalmers were much honoured and esteemed, conversed with the priests, and were admitted, as persons of sanctity, into the more sacred parts of their temples. When these came to dress the dissected body, one of them thrust his hand into it, and drew out all the intestines, except the heart and kidneys; and another washed the bowels with palm wine and aromatic odours. They then filled the belly with pounded myrrh, cassia, and other odoriferous drugs, (frankincense excepted) and the incision being sewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar and other things for above thirty days, or else laid in nitre for seventy days, which was the longest time allowed. At the expiration of this term, they washed the whole body again, and bound it up in swathes of fine linen covering it with gums, which the Egyptians used instead of glue. And all this was done without disfiguring the body, so that the very hairs remained on the brows and eye-lids, and the countenance was so well preserved, that the person might easily be known. The embalmers having done their part, the corpse was delivered to the relations; who put it in a wooden coffin shaped like a man, which was placed upright against the wall of the catacomb, or of whatever edifice was designed for that purpose: for it

must be remembered, that the Egyptians did not always deposite their dead in sepulchres immediately after they were embalmed, but kept them at home in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleasure of viewing the lineaments of their ancestors, who died some ages before they were born; and, if we may believe Lucian, they often brought the dried corpse of a friend as a guest to their entertainments.

The way of embalming above described was the most costly manner of preserving the dead; but those who were unable or unwilling to be at so great an expence had recourse to a more ordinary preparation, which was as follows: they injected a quantity of oil of cedar into the body by a pipe, without cutting it open, and laid it in nitre for seventy days, at the end of which they drew out the pipe, and let out the oil by the fundament, which brought away with it the whole paunch and entrails; and the nitre consumed the flesh, leaving nothing but skin and bones. This done, the body was sent home to the relations without any farther operation. The third way of preserving a corpse, made use of by the poorer sort of people, was only cleansing the belly by injected lotions, and salting the body for the number of days above-mentioned.

There are several pyramids in the neighbourhood of Saccara, and others some miles to the South near a village called Dashour; but I shall not trouble the reader with any account of them, having given him a sufficient idea of these structures in the three most remarkable ones already described. I had some thoughts of proceeding from Saccara to Faiume, and from thence to take a view of the lake of Moëris,

and the situation of the famous labyrinth; but being not sufficiently provided for such a journey, which our Janizaries likewise represented as dangerous, I was easily prevailed upon to lay aside the design, and return to Cairo. However, it may not be amiss to give a short account of those suprising works of the Egyptian kings, both as they are described by the ancients, and as they are at present, according to the information I received from a gentleman who was lately upon the spot, and considered them with great attention.

The lake of Mœris, if Herodotus and Diodorus may be credited, was no less than three thousand six hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty miles in circumference. It is said to have been dug by a king of Egypt called Mœris, whose name it retained, in order to correct the irregularities of the Nile, by receiving the superfluous waters when that river rose too high, (thereby preventing their stagnation in other places to the detriment of the land) and by supplying the lands with water when the river failed, which was let out of the lake into the adjacent country by a great number of ditches and canals. Many of these canals are still subsisting; and as they were of vast benefit to the ancient inhabitants, so they are equally serviceable to the present, who attribute them, as they do most other works of public utility, to the patriarch Joseph, whose name they have given to the great canal by which the lake has a communication with the Nile.

In this lake we are also told that Mœris built two pyramids for himself and his queen, which were six

hundred feet high, three hundred being under water, and three hundred above; and on the top of each of them a colossal statue seated on a throne. If this be true, they must needs have been erected before the cavity was filled with water; but it appears quite incredible to me, that two such pyramids, and a lake of such vast extent, should be the work of one prince's reign, notwithstanding the authority of the above-mentioned historians.

They likewise tell us, that the canal of communication between the Nile and the lake, had anciently large sluices to let the water in or out as occasion required; and whenever they were either opened or shut, the charge of doing it was no less than fifty talents of silver, or almost thirteen thousand pounds sterling. On the other hand, the lake brought in a very considerable revenue to the prince, the fishery, during the river's retreat, yielding a talent, about two hundred and fifty-eight pounds, every day into the royal treasury, and about one-fourth of that sum for the rest of the year; there being a great variety and plenty of fish, and a vast number of hands employed in taking and salting them. The revenues arising from this fishery Moeris is said to have given to his queen to buy her ointments, or for pin-money, as we usually express it in England.

When Herodotus inquired, as very well he might, what became of the vast quantity of earth that was dug up to form this prodigious cavity, the Egyptians told him it was carried to the Nile, and dispersed by the current of that river. If the historian had credulity enough to believe this account, I must confess it is so far from being satisfactory to me, that,

as the inhabitants of the country could give no better answer to this question, I am apt to think this spacious lake was rather the work of nature than of art; though perhaps King Moëris might enlarge it, by opening or cleansing its communication with the Nile, erecting flood-gates, and even sinking some part of it deeper than it was originally; which might give rise to the tradition that he dug the whole cavity.

Strangely different from the account given us of this lake by Herodotus and Diodorus, is that of Pomponius Mela, who makes it no more than twenty miles in circumference: but the critics will have this to be a mistake in Mela's copy, and have accordingly corrected it by those historians. The truth seems to lie between these two extremes, for I am well assured, that the lake of Moëris is at this day between forty and fifty miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth; though it varies in its extent according to the rising or sinking of the river. Its banks are of a blackish soil, between which and the water the ground is slaty, and part of it covered with a deep slimy mud, incrustated with a thin cake of salt upon its surface. The water is very disagreeable, being of a muddy taste, and almost as salt as the sea; but it is fresher towards the parts where it enters from the river. I do not learn that there are any shell-fish in the lake, nor any sort of fish but such as are found in the Nile; and of these, as well as anciently, they catch vast quantities when the lake is low, and sell them very cheap in the market of Faiume.

On the North side of the lake there is the appear-

ance of a little island, or some white cliffs rising considerably above the water, which it is thought may be the remains of the two pyramids above-mentioned, built by Moëris for himself and his consort. The country about the lake was formerly famous for its vineyards, which have been long ago destroyed; but many roots are still observed in the ground, supposed to be the remains of vines; for wood may continue sound a great while, in such a dry air as that of Egypt.

Towards the Southern part of the lake of Moëris was situated another of the Egyptian wonders, I mean the celebrated Labyrinth, which according to Herodotus, who saw it, surpassed the report of fame, being in his judgment more admirable than the pyramids themselves. It was built near the city of Crocodiles, the same with Arsinoë, and was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, erected by twelve kings of Egypt, at a time when the country was divided into so many different kingdoms. This structure seems to have been designed as a pantheon, or universal temple of all the Egyptian deities, which were separately worshipped in the provinces. It was also the place of the general assembly of the magistracy of the whole nation, where they met to feast and sacrifice, and to judge causes of great importance.

The last-mentioned historian tells us, that this edifice contained twelve halls, which were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors opposite to one another, six opening to the North, and six to the South, all encompassed by the same wall. The whole number of chambers was three thousand, fifteen hundred

above ground, and as many below. Herodotus says that he viewed all the upper rooms, but was not permitted to enter into the subterraneous apartments, because there were the sepulchres of the kings who built the labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles*.

* Never was any nation more superstitious than the Egyptians, extravagantly worshipping a great number of animals, as the bull, the wolf, the dog, the cat, the baboon, the crocodile, the hawk, the ibis, and many others; though some pretend, that the worship of the Egyptians did not terminate in the animals themselves, but in the gods whose symbols they were, and to whom they had some peculiar relation. These animals were placed in their temples, maintained with great care, and at a prodigious expence, and after their death, were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs assigned them by the public. Nay, to such an excess was this folly carried, that some of them ascribed a sort of divinity to leeks and onions for which they are ingeniously reproached by the Roman satyrist.—

“ Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
 “ Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
 “ Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibim.
 “ Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
 “ Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
 “ Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
 “ Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
 “ Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
 “ Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
 “ O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
 “ Numina! ————— JUVEN. Sat. XV.

Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
 What monster gods her frantic sons have fram'd?
 Here Ibis gorg'd with well-grown serpents, there
 The crocodile commands religious fear.

It is said that the huge pile consisted entirely of stone, without any timber, being supported by a vast number of marble pillars, with which the roofs and walls within were likewise encrusted, and the whole adorned with the finest sculptures. The numerous passages throughout the building, were contrived to meet and cross each other with so much intricacy, that it was impossible for a stranger to find his way either in or out without the assistance of a guide; and several of the chambers were of such a structure, that on opening the doors there was heard an awful noise like thunder.

So great was the strength of this wonderful edifice, that it withstood for many ages not only the rage of time, but that of its implacable enemies the inhabitants of Heracleopolis, who did all they could do to demolish it, from an aversion they bore to the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of Arsinoe. Pliny says it was remaining entire in his days, after

Where Memnon's statue magic strings inspire.
With vocal sounds, that emulate the lyre;
And Thebes, (such, Fate, are thy disastrous turns!)
Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns.
A monkey-god (prodigious to be told!)
Strikes the beholder's eye with burnish'd gold,
To godship here blue Triton's scaly herd,
The river progeny is there preferr'd:
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise:
And should you leeks or onions eat, no time
Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.
Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
Where ev'ry orchard is o'er-run with gods!

having stood three thousand six hundred years; and even at this present time we find sufficient tokens of its ancient grandeur. About a league from the temple of the labyrinth, are found several heaps of ruins covered with sand, and many stones scattered up and down, as if there had been great buildings thereabouts. This place is called Caroon, and is undoubtedly the spot where the famous labyrinth was erected. Walking over it we pass by several remains of ancient structures, till we come to the largest that is now standing, which is called Casr-Caroon, or the castle of Caroon, about a hundred and sixty feet in length, and eighty in breadth. This is conjectured to have been the square pyramid which Strabo speaks of at the end of the labyrinth, and calls the sepulchre of Imandes, but which he is suspected to have confounded with the pyramids in the island.

The portico is a very rustic work, almost entirely destroyed, being no where above six feet high; but there are some remains of the large marble pillars by which the top of it was supported. Having passed through the portico, we enter a fine spacious hall, and beyond it three others successively, which are roofed with large tables of marble exquisitely joined together, each of them twenty-five feet long, and three broad, reaching quite across from one wall to the other. At the farther end of the last hall are certain narrow apartments, wherein it is probable the sacred crocodiles were deposited. These halls have several openings made in them through which one may go into other rooms on the same level, from whence there are stair-cases to go up into those that

were above, and down into those below; but most of the passages are now choaked with rubbish. What remains of this building is about thirty-four feet high, and there are signs of a cornice running round it, notwithstanding which it was undoubtedly higher formerly than it is at present.

We need not wonder at the disagreement to be found between the ancients and moderns, and even amongst the ancients themselves, in their descriptions of this labyrinth, and edifice of so great variety and extent. What is now standing of it seems to be no more than a fourth part of the inner building, which in all probability had four fronts, and twelve halls answering to them; the rest being decayed by time, or demolished by design, as appears from the ruins to be seen all round it to a considerable distance.

One day we crossed over to the little island of Roida, our Raoudah, which lies in the river between Old Cairo and Gize, where we spent some hours with a great deal of satisfaction. The island is near a mile long, having a village of the same name at the North end of it, and is one of the most delightful spots imaginable, being planted on the West side with large sycamores, or Pharaoh's fig-trees, as they are commonly called. In order to measure the increase of the Nile, there is a building erected at the Southern point of this island, into which the stream has free admittance: and in the middle of this is placed the Mikias, or measuring pillar, divided into cubits, as we may suppose the ancient Niloscopes or Nilometers were, whereby the rise of the river is exactly known. This column is fixed in a bason, the bottom of which is probably on a level with the

surface of the Nile when at lowest, for it would be of no signification to have it go deeper. It has a fine old Corinthian capital at the top, on which rests a beam that goes across a gallery. From a court leading to this structure there is a descent to the Nile by steps, which are called Moses' stairs, it being a prevailing opinion among the vulgar, that he was taken up there, after he had been exposed upon the river in the ark of bulrushes. At the same end of the island we find great ruins of ancient buildings, especially about the Mikias; and to the West there are remains of a wall nine or ten feet thick, built of brick, with several little turrets, but the whole seems rather designed to defend the island against the encroachments of the river, than against any other enemy. It is said that one of the sultans built a palace here, and made it his frequent residence, for the sake of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation.

Having mentioned the Mikias, or Nilometer, it naturally leads me to say something of the annual rise of the Nile, and of that inundation which has always been accounted one of the greatest wonders of Egypt, and to which it is indebted for all its fertility and happiness; for as it seldom rains in the inland parts of the country, (though it frequently does upon the coast) and the soil is naturally dry and sandy if providence had not so ordered it, that this beneficent river should overflow and water the lands at a certain season of the year, Egypt, instead of the most fertile, would have been one of the most barren parts of the universe.

The sources or springs of the Nile were abso-

lutely unknown to the ancients, who placed them in the Mountains of the Moon (as they are usually called) in the 10th degree of South latitude. But our modern travellers, especially the Portuguese missionaries, who claim the honour of the discovery, have found that they lie in Ethiopia, in the 11th or 12th degree of North latitude; which makes the course of that river several hundred leagues shorter than it was supposed by the ancients. The Nile enters Egypt almost under the tropic of Cancer, violently pouring itself, as it passes, down several cataracts or falls, from a very considerable height, between rugged rocks and precipices, and with so great a noise as to be heard at the distance of several leagues. According to Seneca, the inhabitants near the cataracts used formerly to entertain strangers with a sight rather terrifying than diverting; and the practice is still continued, if we may believe some modern travellers. Two of them get into a small boat, the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water; and having for some time sustained the violence of the agitated waves, they dexterously steer through the narrow channels without touching the rocks, directing the little vessel with their hands, till at last they are carried down headlong by the falling river. The affrighted spectators now think them inevitably swallowed up and lost, but immediately sees them appear again upon the water, at a great distance from the place where they fell, just as if they had been shot out of an engine*.

* Seneca's words are these: "Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia con-

From the cataracts the Nile makes its way through Upper and Middle Egypt, and a little below Cairo divides itself into two large branches, which empty themselves into the Mediterranean at a great distance from each other, one near Rosetto, the other near Damietta, as I have observed above. Thus the Delta, the greatest part of lower Egypt, is formed; but as to the seven mouths † of the Nile, much spoken of

“scendunt, quorum alternavem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde
 “multum inter rapidam insaniam Nili et reciprocos fluctus volu-
 “tati, tandem tenuissimos canales tenent, per quos angusta rup-
 “ium effugiunt; et cum toto flumine effusi navigium ruens manu
 “temperant; magnoque spectantium metu in caput nixi, cum
 “jam adploraveris, mersosque atque obrutos tantâ mole credideris,
 “longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo
 “missi. Nec mergit cadens unda, sed planis aquis tradit.”

Seneca, Nat. Quæst. L. IV. c. 2.—Though this account seems to be confirmed by some modern travellers, yet Dr. Pococke, who lately saw several of the cataracts, takes no notice of any such practice; nor does he represent them as such frightful falls as they are generally conceived to be. He talks of some rocks of granite which lie across the river in three different places, dividing the stream, and causing several falls of water; but he makes the greatest of them not above seven or eight feet, and others about four or five. As to the Catadupes, those high cataracts which fell with such a noise as to deprive the neighbouring inhabitants of their hearing, he looks upon the whole as fabulous. He acknowledges, however, that the people talked of other cataracts besides those he saw; and that some reckoned seven mountains and seven cataracts, which seem agreeable to the accounts of the ancients.

† The names of these mouths, beginning from the West, were the Canopic, the Heracleotic, the Bolbitic, the Sebennytic, the Pathmetic, the Mendesian, the Tanitic, and the Pelusiatic, so called from the cities standing on their several branches.

by the ancients, it is in vain to look for them at present, time having made great alterations in the face of the country, as has likewise been already intimated.

With regard to the annual overflowing of the Nile, Herodotus, Diodorus, and other ancient authors tell us, that the river begins to rise in Egypt about the summer solstice, and continues so to do till after the autumnal equinox, or nearly the space of one hundred days, till it returns to its proper channel. This account pretty well agrees with modern observations; for though the Nile begins to swell in the month of May, its increase is inconsiderable at Old Cairo till about the 18th or 19th of June; nor is any public notice taken of it till the 28th of that month, at which time it is usually risen to five or six cubits, or peeks, a Turkish measure, concerning the precise length whereof authors are not well agreed, but which may be reckoned about five and twenty inches. At this time the public criers proclaim the rise of the river in the city of Cairo, and continue in the same manner to publish how much it increases every day, till it rises to sixteen peeks, when they make great rejoicings, and cry out Waffah Allah, implying that God had given them abundance.

The Nile commonly swells to this height at the latter end of July, or before the 20th of August; but the sooner it happens, they have a greater hopes of a plentiful season. Sometimes, indeed, it has fallen out so late as the 1st, and even the 19th of Sep-

There were also two Pseudostomata, or false mouths, named Pineptimi and Diolcos, which could not carry such large vessels as the others.

tember, as it did in the year 1705; but then the country has been afflicted with plague and famine, the river not rising afterwards to its usual height. For it is to be observed, that though sixteen peeks generally portend plenty, and are the condition upon which the people pay their tribute to the Grand Signior, yet nineteen or twenty are requisite to cause a general flood, and prepare the lands for cultivation. Eighteen peeks are reckoned but an indifferent Nile, and twenty-two a very good one, beyond which it seldom rises. If it exceed twenty-four it is said the inundation is of bad consequence, the waters not retiring soon enough to sow the corn; but I know no instance of such an excess. The time when the Nile is at highest is usually about the middle of September.

As it may be easily conceived that the river cannot of itself overflow the lands every where in the necessary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with incredible labour, to cut a vast number of canals and trenches from one end of Egypt to the other; so that almost every town and village has its canal, which is opened at the proper time, and the water successively conveyed to the most distant places. These canals or trenches are not permitted to be opened till the river has risen to a certain height, nor yet all at once; for in that case some lands would have too much water, and others too little; but they begin to open them according to a public regulation of measures made for that purpose.

When the Nile is swelled to the height of sixteen peeks, the bank is cut to let it into the Khalis, as

they call the great canal above-mentioned, which runs through the city of Cairo. The ceremony of cutting this bank or mound, which is raised every year when the river begins to increase, is always performed with vast solemnity, in the presence of the bashaw himself, (who gives the first stroke) accompanied by all his great officers, and attended with an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the greatest festivals observed by the Egyptians. On this occasion the barges and galleys, in which the bashaw and his attendants come up the river, from Bulac, make a very pretty appearance, having sails of different colours, and abundance of flags and streamers. The trumpets and other music, accompanied with the firing of guns and the repeated shouts of the people, add to the grandeur of the ceremony, and make an agreeable confusion. In a word, bonfires, illuminations, and the finest fireworks, together with several sorts of games and exercises*, and whatever can be thought of to demon-

* Among other diverting sights which are exhibited on this occasion, M. Thevenot tells us of two swimmers, whose performances were very surprising. One of these, he assures us, he saw with his hands tied behind his back, and his feet bound with an iron chain of ten pounds weight, who stood upright in the water, and in that manner went from the opening of the canal quite through Grand Cairo, (which is between three and four miles) preceded by a boat full of people with drums and trumpets, and followed by several others. He was rewarded by the bashaw with a fine vest, and a present in money, besides what he collected from the spectators, which undoubtedly was very considerable. Another of these fellows swam in chains from one end of the Khalis to the other, with a pipe in his mouth, and a dish of coffee in his hand without spilling it; and had the same reward from the viceroy.

strate an universal joy, are continued for three days and three nights without intermission.

In ancient times this annual ceremony was not only attended with great rejoicings, but it is said the Egyptians used also to sacrifice a girl, or a boy and a girl, to the Nile, as a tribute paid to that river for the blessings they derived from it. This inhuman custom continued, as we are told, till the Turks made themselves masters of Egypt, when it was abolished according to the prudent remonstrances of the first governor; but unfortunately the river did not rise that year to its accustomed height. The year following it was worse, so that the people, apprehending a famine, and thinking it was owing to the discontinuance of the usual sacrifice to the river, began to murmur; whereupon the governor led out the inhabitants of Cairo, Turks, Jews, and Christians, to a mountain on the East of the city, and, after a pathetic exhortation, obliged all that were present to offer up their prayers to God for obtaining his mercy, in which exercise they spent the remainder of the day, and the following night. Early in the morning news was brought to the governor, that the Nile had risen no less than twelve peeks in the night-time; whereupon nothing was heard but the praises of God, and the joyful acclamations of the people. Coming down from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal ten feet high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive; which last, they say, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to God than the former innocent victim. How much truth there is in this story, I shall

not take upon me to determine; but, be that as it will, it is certain the custom prevails to this day of raising a sort of earthen pillar or altar near the entrance of the Khalis, and adorning it with flowers, which, on cutting the bank, is carried down by the violence of the stream, in lieu of the human sacrifice they used formerly to offer to the river deity. We are also informed, that since a stop has been put to the above-mentioned superstitious cruelty, whenever the waters fail of rising to their accustomed height, they have recourse to prayers on the same mountain.

The Grand Signior has no title to his tribute, as has been already intimated, till the opening of the canal at Cairo, which is not to be done till the Nile rises to sixteen peeks; and therefore if the bashaw, or viceroy, should cause it to be opened before the river is swelled to that determinate height, the farmers may refuse to pay their rents to the emperor, whether the year be plentiful or not, and the bashaw, is answerable for the consequence. Whilst the Nile is rising, nobody but the bashaw, or one from him, is admitted to the Mikias, except the people who belong to it; and yet it is said, that they keep the bashaw and his officers in the dark with respect to their manner of computing the increase of the river, so as to let it rise considerably higher than sixteen peeks without making it known; being willing to have the prospect of a good year before they proclaim the water's rising to that standard, which subjects them to the payment of their tribute. In the year 1734, when I was in Egypt, the Nile rose to sixteen peeks on the 30th of July; on which day the Khali was opened with the usual pomp and solemnity.

The ancients being ignorant of the true cause of the annual inundation of the Nile, which seemed the more unaccountable to them, because, contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in the summer, and decreased in winter, made several shrewd conjectures to explain this phenomenon, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus, and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of dispute, it being universally allowed to be occasioned by the great rains that fall in Ethiopia, towards the sources of the river, which lays that country almost entirely under water, as it afterwards does Egypt. Some of the ancients indeed, as Strabo observes, guessed this to be the cause, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye-witnesses, Ptolemy Philadelphus, a very curious and inquisitive prince, having sent some persons on purpose to examine into the matter. These rains constantly fall in Ethiopia during the months of April and May; as they also do in other countries that lie between the Tropics, causing the rivers which have their rise or course within those circles to break through their ordinary bounds, and overflow the lands for many miles before they reach the sea, particularly in Siam, Bengal, and other parts of the East-Indies.

It must be supposed, that the North or Etesian winds (as the ancients called them) contribute not a little to the increase and overflowing of the Nile. These winds begin to blow in Egypt about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds, formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean, as far as the mountains of Ethiopia, where they condense and fall down in violent rains. Or, if this be not granted, at least

they promote the inundation in another respect, by retarding the course of the river, and preventing the water from flowing down so fast into the sea as it would do without such an obstruction.

The causes of the inundation being thus assigned, let us now consider its effects, and the methods taken by the Egyptians to render it universally beneficial. This is done chiefly, as I before observed, by cutting a vast number of canals and trenches, from which the lands are overflowed, and not commonly from the main body of the Nile, where the banks are high; but it is otherwise where they are low, particularly in the Delta. Canals are carried along the higher grounds, that the water may have a fall from them to the lower parts; and from the great canals it is drawn out into small channels, and conveyed all over the country. As they have dikes to keep the water out of the canals till the proper time comes to let it in, so in some of them they have contrivances to keep it in after the Nile is fallen, as well as in certain lakes, from whence they can let it out upon their lands at pleasure.

However, as there are some parts of the country which lie too high to be watered by the canals, and several of their gardens and plantations require more refreshment than what they receive from the annual inundation, they make use of various means to raise water from the river, which is lodged in cisterns or reservoirs contrived for that purpose. This was anciently done by Archimedes' screw, or the spiral pump, which is not known at present; but they now generally use the Sakiah, (or Persian wheel) which is turned by oxen, and carries a rope hung with sev-

eral earthen vessels, which fill as it goes round, and empty themselves at top into the cistern. Where the banks of the river are high, they frequently make a bason in the side of them, near which they fix an upright pole, and another with an axle across the top of that, at one end whereof hangs a great stone, and at the other a leathern bucket; which bucket being drawn down into the water by two men, is raised up again by the weight of the stone, the men directing it, and emptying it into the bason. Machines of both these kinds are placed along the banks of the Nile, the former chiefly in the lower, the latter in the upper parts of Egypt; the difficulty of raising water increasing, in proportion as we advance up the river.

When any of their gardens or plantations want refreshment, the water is conveyed from the cisterns into several little trenches, and from thence conducted all round the beds in various rills, which the gardener easily stops by raising the mould against them with his foot*, and diverts the current another way

* “ This method (the learned Dr. Shaw observes) of conveying
“ moisture and nourishment to land that is seldom refreshed with
“ rain, is often alluded to in the holy scriptures, whereby they
“ likewise particularly distinguish Egypt from the land of Canaan,
“ for the land (says Moses to the children of Israel, Duet. xi. 10,
“ 11.) ‘ whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of
“ Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed
“ and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the
“ land whither ye go to possess it is a land of hills and valleys,
“ and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.’ Both these countries,
“ however, were rendered fruitful by a peculiar providence; Egypt
“ by the wonderful inundation of the Nile, and Palestine by the
“ former and latter rains, which regularly fell at two appointed

according as he sees occasion. By this means they have the finest and most fertile gardens in the world; and their pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and several others of fruit-trees, afford a cooling shade, which in the hot climate of Egypt is exceeding delightful.

It has been long since observed, and scarce needs to be repeated, that the extraordinary fertility of Egypt is to be ascribed to the overflowing of the Nile, which leaves behind it an annual stratum of prolific mud or slime, sufficiently compensating, without any other manure, for what the foregoing harvest has impaired. This sediment is of a very light nature, feeling almost like an impalpable powder; and is so excessively rich, that they frequently find it necessary to temper it with a little sand, to abate its strength and rankness. The soil of Egypt, except the additions it thus receives from the inundation of the river, is naturally sandy; and remains bare, without being covered with the mud of the Nile, for about a mile from the mountains. This soil does well enough for trees; but, with all the water they can bring to it, will not produce a crop of corn to answer the expence.

The lower parts of Egypt are supposed to have been originally a morass, neither fit to be cultivated nor inhabited; for before the canals were made, a less quantity of water must have overflowed the country, and there have remained and stagnated so long, as not to leave a proper season for tillage and harvest. But in process of time, when the surface

“seasons of the year, so long as the Israelites continued in their
“duty.”

of the ground was considerably raised by repeated accessions of mud and slime, when canals were opened, and the Nile was sufficiently confined within its own banks, the inundations were not so excessive and pernicious, the superfluous waters were easily drained off, and the land rendered fruitful and fit for cultivation. That Egypt had been thus raised and augmented appears from undeniable arguments and observations, and particularly from this, that the soil varies in depth in proportion to its distance from the river, being sometimes twenty or thirty feet deep near the banks, whereas it is not above six or seven inches at the farthest parts to which the inundation extends; and this notwithstanding the evenness of the country. But if this be not thought a sufficient proof, let what Herodotus tells us be considered, that in the reign of Myris, if the Nile rose to the height of eight cubits, all the lands of Egypt were sufficiently overflowed; but that in his time (almost nine hundred years after) fifteen or sixteen cubits of water were necessary to cover the country. As to the quantity of mud thus annually left by the river, it is a point not easily to be determined with any exactness*; which I shall therefore leave for

* Dr. Shaw proposes it as a conjecture, that the mud left by the Nile has raised the surface of the land of Egypt, ever since the deluge, in a proportion of somewhat more than a foot in a hundred years; according to which computation, the whole perpendicular accession of soil from that period to the year 1721, (reckoning that interval to be 4072 years) must have been forty-one feet eight inches. And from hence the doctor imagines, that in process of time the whole country may be raised to such a

those who are better skilled in calculations of that nature.

As Egypt was formerly the granary of the Roman empire, so it is now of the Ottoman dominions, which it furnishes with rice and wheat, whenever they have occasion; vast quantities of corn being laid up by the Arab sheeks in Upper Egypt, more than is sufficient for the consumption of that country. This appears the less surprising, when we consider that they have two harvests in Egypt; a spring-harvest from January to May, and a winter-harvest about October. For the latter, about March, before the land is overflowed, they sow rice, Indian wheat, and what they call corn of Damascus, which produces a large cane, and has an ear like millet. At the same time they likewise plant their sugar-canes; for all these require a great deal of water, especially rice, which is reaped before the flood is quite gone off, and removed to dry ground. The largest crops of this are produced near Damietta and Rosetto, and in other parts of the Delta, where the

height, that the river will not be able to overflow its banks, and Egypt consequently be reduced to the greatest barrenness. But, Dr. Pococke is of another opinion, as supposing that a great quantity of soil is annually carried off in the productions of the earth, the loss of which is not any way supplied by manuring the land, and that the bed of the Nile may rise by the subsiding of the heavier sandy particles; for which reasons he thinks it improbable that the land will ever increase to such a height, as to be deprived of the usual inundations. However, he observes, if that should one time or other be the case in Lower Egypt, the inhabitants would only be in the condition of those of Upper Egypt, who are obliged to raise the water by art and labour.

lands are low, and consequently more easily overflowed than those that lie higher up the river. The rice has an ear something like oats, and the grain looks like barley, till the husk be taken off, which is done with a hollow cylinder, raised and let down by a machine turned by oxen; and after it is cleansed, they mix a little salt with it, in order to preserve it from the vermin.

Their spring-corn and vegetables are sown in November, or something sooner or latter, according as the winter retire; but earliest in such parts as are not overflowed by the river. These are wheat, which are all bearded, and barley, which has six rows of grain in one ear, and is used chiefly for horses; as also flax, lentils, lupines, and things of the same nature. They have no oats, but plenty of beans, with which they feed their camels; and the people likewise eat them green, both raw and boiled. Neither have they any pease, but a sort of vetch with one large grain in each pod, which is not much inferior to pease in taste, and is eaten raw when green, and boiled when dry. At this season they also cultivate their Safranoun, (or Carthamus) which grows like succory, and the flower of it is used in dying, and is accordingly exported into Europe. The wheat and barley, which they sow at this time of the year, they reap in March and April. I ought likewise to observe, that they have little or no grass in Egypt, but its place is very well supplied with clover, which they sow without ploughing the land, and have plentiful crops of it at the beginning of the year. Hence it is, as I have intimated already, that Egypt appears in its greatest beauty in the months of December and January,

when it is the middle of the spring, and the whole country is covered with green corn and clover, and many plants are in full blossom.

It has been justly observed indeed, by the ancients as well as the moderns, that nothing can be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year; for if a man ascend some mountain in the month of August or September, he beholds a wide sea, in which appear almost innumerable towns and villages, intermixed with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops are only visible, and here and there a causeway for communication between one place and another; which all together form a prospect as agreeable as it is uncommon. On the other hand, in the spring months above-mentioned, the whole country is like one continued meadow, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the spectator; who likewise sees flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, and the peasants busied in their rural employments. In a word, nature, which is then dead as it were in other climates, seems here to be in its bloom and gaiety.

Having gone thus far in the natural history of Egypt, it seems proper to throw together some other particulars relating to the same subject, especially the vegetable and animal productions of that country. Several of the former have been already mentioned in speaking of their harvests; to which we may add in general, that they have great plenty of excellent fruits and roots of various kinds, and their kitchen-gardens abound with the finest melons and cucumbers, which cooling food is much eaten by the people in hot weather, and the green sugar-canes are an-

other considerable part of their diet. Leeks and onions, which were once deified in Egypt, still abound there, but are not held in that extravagant veneration. They have an herb called Nil, of which they make a sort of indigo blue; but in what manner they do it I am not acquainted. Upper Egypt, I am informed, abounds with senna, which is sent to most parts of Europe; and the coloquintida grows wild there, being like a calabash, and about the size of a large orange.

It cannot be expected that a country like Egypt, which is very hot and annually overflowed, should naturally produce any great variety of plants, the tender ones being every year destroyed either by the heat or the inundation; and, except those of the aquatic kind, it may be presumed there are very few in Egypt that were originally produced there, but that most of them have been transplanted into it from other countries. A plant of great antiquity, and perhaps a native of Egypt, is now rarely to be met with, the poorer sort of people having almost destroyed it by continually digging up the roots of it whenever they wanted fuel: I mean the Papyrus, or Biblus, which grew plentifully on the banks of the Nile, and was made use of by the ancients to write upon*, from whence our paper took its name.

* Various are the materials, on which mankind in different ages and countries have contrived to write their sentiments; as on stones, bricks, the leaves of flowers and trees, and their rinds or barks; also tables of wood, wax, and ivory; to which may be added plates of lead, linen-rolls, &c. In some places and ages they have even written on the skins of fishes, in others on the intestines of serpents, and in others on the backs of tortoises. At length the Egyptian Papyrus was invented; then parchment,

This plant has a large stem, out of which some say they took the pith, which they worked into a white paste or glue, and of that made a kind of paper, almost in the same manner as we do our linen-rags; but others say they used the inner kind of the plant for that purpose*. Of the Papyrus they likewise made mats, cloaths, shoes, ropes, sails, and several domestic utensils: but more useful inventions have set all this aside, and the plant is now entirely neglected, and almost extirpated out of Egypt.

The Lotus, which grows plentifully in the Lower Egypt, especially near Rosetto, is a species of the wa-

cotton paper, and lastly the common or linen paper, now commonly used in Europe; for in some parts of the world, where the European paper has not been introduced, the natives to this day write upon the leaves of certain trees or plants, as well as their ancestors.

* The manner of making the Egyptian paper, according to the best accounts we have, was as follows. They began with lopping off the head and root of the Papyrus, as of no use in this manufacture; and the remaining stem they slit lengthwise into two equal parts, stripping from each of these the thin scaly coats or pellicles, whereof it was composed, with the point of a penknife, or with a needle, according to Pliny. The innermost of the pellicles were looked on as the best, and those nearest the rind or bark the worst; being kept apart accordingly, and constituting different sorts of paper. As the coats were taken off, they extended them on a table, and two of them were laid over each other transversely, so as that their fibers made right angles; and in this state they were glued together by the muddy waters of the Nile. They were then pressed to get out the water, afterwards dried, and lastly flatted and smoothed by beating them with a mallet, and thus they became fit to write upon; but with a hemisphere of glass, or the like, they sometimes give them a farther polish.

ter-lily. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the surface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. The ancient Egyptians made bread of the middle or pulp of this plant dried, which resembled that of a poppy, and they also used to eat the root of it, which is round, and as big as an apple. The Arabs make a drink of this Lotus, which is good for inward heat; and they eat the stalk and heads of them raw, which are very moist and cooling.

The Albenna, or Alkenna, is a shrub that shoots forth many branches, bearing leaves like those of an olive-tree, but shorter, broader, and of a more pleasant green. The flowers, which are small, and set like those of the elder, have an agreeable smell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths. The women paint their nails yellow with a dye made of the seed of this plant, by way of ornament.

I have already mentioned the flax of Egypt; but it may not be amiss to observe, that this country is not now so remarkable for its fine linen as it was anciently, which was carried to such a perfection, that the threads could scarce be discerned by the nicest eye. It grew in such plenty, that they had not only enough to clothe their priests (who wore nothing else) and people of condition, and to make shrouds for their dead, but to export considerable quantities of it into other countries. In short, this manufacture was in great request all over the East*; and the superfine sort of it, called byssus, was often dyed in purple, and was so dear, that none could afford to wear it but the most wealthy persons.

* Prov. vii. 16. Ezek. xxvii. 7.

The greatest part of Egypt is an open country, having very few woods, and indeed not many trees but such as seem to have been originally strangers to the soil. Those which grow only in gardens, as the several kinds of oranges and lemons, the apricot, the pomegranate, the moseh, (which bears a delicate fruit that cannot be preserved) the cous or cream-tree, and the cassia fistula, are all of them undoubtedly exotics. The tree called sount, which seems to be a species of the acacia, is common enough in Egypt, and is most likely to be a native of the country. It is often planted on each side of the road, and there are little woods of it near some villages. The keys or pods, which it bears, are used instead of bark in tanning of leather. There is another sort of it called fetneh, which grows in the gardens, and is esteemed on account of the sweetness of its yellow flowers; but its roots, when opened and bruised, emit such a disagreeable smell, as may be perceived at considerable distance.

The dumez, the sycamore of the ancients, which the Europeans call Pharaoh's fig, is a large spreading tree, with a round leaf, and its fruits like the common figs, but something smaller, and not much esteemed. It is remarkable, that the fruit grows on several short branches without leaves, which shoot out from the main limbs of the tree. At the end of the fig a sort of water gathers together, which is let out by cutting the skin, otherwise the fruit will not ripen. This tree is propagated by planting its branches, which grow very fast, and is common enough about the villages near Cairo. It was of the wood of the sycamore that the ancient Egyptians made their cof-

fins, some of which remain sound to this very day, as I have before observed. These trees are likewise found in some parts of Syria.

Of all the trees of Egypt, none is more extraordinary than the palm or date tree, which is very useful in the country, and deserves our particular notice. This tree grows very high in one stem, but is not of a proportionable bulk, being seldom above a foot in diameter, except about Faiume, where they are large, and are sawn into boards, which is not usual in other places. Its wood is porous, and that which is most solid has a coarse grain; but its great peculiarity is, that the heart of the tree is the softest, the outer parts being most hard and durable. It is three or four years before the body of this tree appears above ground*, but it continues as we see it in our greenhouses. If the top be cut off, with the boughs coming from it, the young buds and the ends of the tender shoots united together are a delicious food, much finer than chesnuts, and sold at a high price. The boughs are of a grain like cane, from whence, as the tree grows up, issue a great number of small fibres, which cross one another in such a manner as to form

* The palm-tree, says Dr. Shaw, is propagated chiefly from young shoots taken from the roots of full-grown trees; which, if well transplanted and taken care of, will yield their fruit six or seven years after: whereas those that are raised immediately from the stone will not bear till about their sixteenth year.—He adds, that the tree is in its greatest vigour about thirty years after transplantation, and continues so for seventy years longer, bearing clusters of dates of fifteen or twenty pounds weight; but from that period it gradually decays, and usually falls towards the latter end of its second century. Shaw's Travels, p. 224.

a sort of close net-work; and this the people gather, spin it out with their hands, and make cords of it of all sizes, and also brushes for their cloaths. Of the leaves they make baskets, mattresses, brooms, &c. and of the branches all sorts of cage-work, and boxes to pack up goods in: and the ends of the boughs that grow next the trunk of the tree, being beaten till the fibres separate, serve likewise for besoms. The boughs of the palm-tree die in about five or six years, though they do not fall off of themselves for many years afterwards; but, as they are fit for such various uses, they commonly lop them off annually, leaving the ends of them, which strengthens the tree considerably. In a course of years, however, these drop off; and the tree, being thereby weakened, is frequently blown down and destroyed. When they observe a tree is feeble towards the bottom, they raise a bank of earth round it, and it shoots out a-bundance of small roots, which make it the better able to withstand the violence of the wind. The date, or fruit of this tree, is in a kind of sheath, which opens as it grows. The male bears a large bunch, which is full of a whitish farina; and with this the young fruit of the female must be impregnated*, or it never comes to perfection; for which reason they tie some of the fruit of the male to every bearing branch of the female. The date, when fresh

* This is done, according to Dr. Shaw, in the kingdom of Algiers and Tunis, by taking a sprig or two of the male cluster, and inserting it in the sheath of the female: but in Egypt, he tells us, they take a whole cluster of the male tree, and sprinkle the farina of it over several clusters of the other. *Ibid.*

gathered, eats well roasted like chesnuts, and is agreeable enough when candied. It is ripe in November, and is very proper to be eaten in that cool season, being reckoned of a warm nature, and comfortable to the stomach*. From this fruit they likewise draw a tolerable spirit, much used by the Christians in Upper Egypt; and this liquor in some measure supplies the place of wine, which providence has not given to the country.

There is no great variety of animals in Egypt, but some of them are very remarkable. The hippopotamus, or river-horse, is an amphibious animal well known to the ancients, but which the present Egyptians are very little acquainted with. It seems to

* Dates are frequently used in medicine, their qualities being, to soften the asperities of the gullet, to strengthen the fœtus in the womb, to assuage all immoderate fluxes of the belly, and to ease disorders of the reins and bladder. Their bad property is, that they are difficult of digestion, cause pains of the head, and produce a thick melancholic blood. These effects arise from the principles they contain, which are a moderate share of oil, with a great deal of phlegm and essential salt. The oil and phlegm render them moistening and nutritious, good against acrimonies of the breast, to assuage coughs, &c. and the phlegm and salt render them detersive and astringent, and good against diseases of the throat. For the rest, they are a heavy food, full of earthy juice, and occasion obstructions in the viscera; for which reason people who feed much upon the dates become scorbutic, and lose their teeth betimes. Our dates are brought us from Egypt, and other parts of Africa, and also from Syria and the Indies. They never come to full maturity in Italy, or the most Southern parts of Spain; and yet there are tolerable dates in Provence, only they do not keep but breed worms. Those we have from Persia, exceed all others in taste, colour, and largeness.

be a native of Ethiopia, in the upper parts of the Nile, and seldom comes down into Egypt; but M. Thevenot tells us he saw one of these animals, which was taken at Girge (the capital of Upper Egypt) in the year 1658, and afterwards brought to Cairo. It was about the bigness of a camel, of a tawny colour, the hinder part made like an ox, and the head like a horse. Its eyes and ears were small, but it had great open nostrils, thick large feet, almost round, and four claws on each; the tail was like an elephant's, and it had no more hair upon its body than there is upon that creature. In the lower jaw it had four great teeth, six inches long, two of them crooked, the other streight, but standing out forwards, and all of them as thick as the horns of an ox. It was dead when it was shown at Cairo, having been shot by some Janizaries as it was grazing near the river. These monsters are very rare, especially in the middle and lower parts of Egypt, no such animal having been seen there for many years before. The ancients as well as the moderns affirm, that this beast, when he is out of order, has a method of bleeding himself in the leg with a sharp-pointed reed; but how such an observation could ever be made, is somewhat difficult to conceive.

The crocodile, which the Egyptians call timsah, is another amphibious animal, an inhabitant of the Nile, and formerly thought peculiar to that river, but I do not find any material difference between these creatures and the alligators that are found at the mouth of the Ganges and other rivers of India. From an egg about the size of a goose egg, they grow to a vast bulk, being sometimes twenty or thirty feet in

length. They are shaped like a lizard, and have four short feet armed with claws, with which it is said they can run very fast; but as they cannot easily turn their long unweildy bodies, their prey has the greater opportunity of escaping. Their backs are covered with impenetrable scales like some old pieces of armour; but the skin of their bellies is soft and easily wounded. They have a flat head, indifferently large eyes, and are very quick sighted, which is partly owing to a sort of channel at the back of each eye, whereby they can see objects behind them as well as before. At each end of the lower jaw, they have two long teeth, which are admitted into two holes in the upper jaw. They are very cruel and voracious, but seldom venture to attack men in companies, nor even a single person unless they can do it by surprise. It is said they cannot take a man swimming in the water, but if a man or beast stand by the river, they jump out suddenly and seize him with their fore claws, or beat him down with their tails, in which their strength chiefly consists. They seldom go above twenty or thirty yards from the river, but lie basking in the winter upon the low banks of sandy islands, and keep chiefly in the water by day in the heat of summer. When they are disturbed, they make no great haste from their enemy, but walk gently into the river, and disappear by degrees. It is generally observed that they have no tongue, but they have a fleshy substance that lies along the lower jaw, which perhaps may serve them to turn their meat. They make a hole in the sand about two feet deep, in which they lay their eggs, to the number of fifty or thereabouts, and cover

them over, where they are five and twenty or thirty days in hatching. The people search for these eggs with an iron pike in order to destroy them, for as soon as ever the young ones are hatched, they run into the river. I suppose the common way of killing crocodiles is by shooting them in the belly, where they are vulnerable, as I have observed above; but they talk of taking them by various methods. Sometimes they dig pits near the river, covering them slightly over, so that the crocodiles fall into them when they come ashore: and having let them remain there fasting for several days, in order to weaken them, they hamper them with ropes, and draw them out alive. Another way of catching them is by making some animal cry at a little distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out, a man who lies concealed, thrusts a spear into his body; which being fastened to a rope, they let him run into the water to spend himself, and afterwards dragging him out, thrust a pole into his mouth, jump upon his back, and tie his jaws together. As to the tears and alluring voice, which the ancients ascribed to this creature, it is scarce necessary to intimate that they are mere fictions. The crocodile is seldom seen in the Middle or Lower Egypt, but frequents the islands in the Southern parts of the Nile, several hundred miles about the city of Cairo. Give me leave to add what I should have mentioned before, that the crocodile is one of those few animals whose upper jaw is moveable*.

* The upper jaw is immoveable in man, and all other animals we know of, except crocodiles, parrots, and the '*Acus vulgaris*,' or gar-fish. See Ray's Synops. Pisc. p. 109.

As to the Egyptian rat, supposed to be the ichneumon of the ancients, its make is much like that of a stote, but it is considerably larger. It is said to be of great service in Egypt, by hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing the increase of that destructive creature. I could not get any assurance of the truth of this from the persons I conversed with in Egypt; though I think there is nothing impossible, nor even improbable in the tradition: But with respect to the story of the ichneumon's jumping down the crocodile's throat while he sleeps with his mouth open, feeding upon his liver, and gnawing his way out again through the belly of that animal, I look upon the whole as fabulous. Of the same stamp, I imagine, is the account we have of the little bird called trochilus, which is said to be the only creature that the crocodile is in friendship with, because it flies into his mouth, and feeds upon the meat that sticks between his teeth, or clears his jaws of the leeches with which they are infested.

Amongst the Egyptian beasts of burden, the camel for its usefulness deserves first to be mentioned. This animal is wonderfully fitted by providence for travelling through hot sandy desarts; being able to go four or five days, (some say seven or eight) without water. They browse on the little shrubs which those barren wilds produce, and if they meet with nothing of that nature, half a gallon of beans and barley, or a few balls made of the meal, which travellers generally carry along with them, will nourish one of them for a whole day. Their usual burden is seven or eight hundred weight, with which they

travel at the rate of two miles and an half in an hour, or thereabouts; and their day's journey is frequently twelve or fifteen hours. The fleshy foot of the camel is well adapted to the hot sands, which would parch and destroy the hoof. The Arabs do not kill this creature for food, but the Turks eat the flesh of the young ones, which they reckon a great dainty; though they will not permit the Christians to eat it, for fear perhaps that the breed should be too much destroyed.

There is a species of these creatures, known to us by the name of dromedaries, which will pace and gallop very swiftly, and it is said, will easily carry a person a hundred miles a day; nay, some of the Arabs affirm, that it will travel as far in one day, as one of their best horses will in six or seven. It is of a finer shape than the common camel, and has a less protuberance on its back; for as to those with two bunches, I cannot learn that there are any such in Egypt. We are told that the young dromedaries are blind for some days after their birth, like puppies or kittens.

The horses, especially those of Upper Egypt, are of a very fine breed, and are much admired for their size, but they are not fit to perform long journeys; for though they can walk and gallop very well, they never trot, which is confessedly the best pace for travelling. Their shape is admirable, but they have generally one fault, which is the shortness of their necks. In Egypt they have likewise a large breed of asses, upon which most people ride except those of quality; insomuch that it is computed there are commonly thirty or forty thousand asses kept in the

city of Cairo. The usual food of the cattle in the heat of summer, when there is no grass, is chopped straw, which is cut by a machine drawn over it by an ox; and by the same means the grain is separated from the straw, as amongst us by threshing.

Of the winged tribe of Egypt, the ostrich seems to claim the precedence. They are the largest fowls we meet with any where, have a neck and head shaped like a camel's, which creature they likewise seem to imitate in their manner of walking. They can run a vast pace assisted by their wings, which otherwise are of little use to them; for they can scarce raise themselves from the ground to fly, insomuch that the Arabs frequently ride them down. These birds are very common in the desarts South-West of Alexandria, as well as in those of Arabia; and the taking of them is not only a diversion for the Arabs, but attended with considerable profit; for they have a method of shaking the dead body of an ostrich in such a manner, as to make the fat dissolve into a sort of oil, which they carry to Alexandria and sell to the doctors, who use it as an ointment for the palsy, rheumatism, and all cold tumours; and as it is of a hot nature, they sometimes prescribe it to be taken inwardly for disorders arising from a cold constitution.

The ibis, a bird once well known, and held in great veneration by the Egyptians on account of their destroying great numbers of serpents, is now rarely to be seen in the country. Herodotus describes two kinds of them; one all over black, and about the bigness of a heron; the other white, except the head, neck, and ends of the wings and tail, which are black as the former; but those which are now observed

about the islands of the Nile are most of them greyish.

If the ibis be not so common as formerly, the want of it is sufficiently supplied by the stork, a bird almost as much esteemed and revered by the present Mahometans in Egypt, as the ibis was by the ancient inhabitants of that country; so that to kill, or even molest it, is accounted a sort of profaneness*. It is remarkable that these birds, for about a fortnight before they leave Egypt, (and the same is observed in other countries) constantly assemble together in a certain plain, and are there supposed to form a council as it were, to regulate every thing relating to their departure, and the places to which their course is to be directed. Something of the like nature is observable amongst the swallows and martins in England, which flock together in vast numbers, and make a more than usual chattering, for a week or a fortnight before they disappear.

Among the mountains there are a great many vultures and eagles. Their hawks are of various kinds,

* Dr. Shaw conjectures, that the great regard paid to these birds in Egypt may have been first obtained, not so much from the service they are of to a moist fenny country, in clearing it of a variety of useless reptiles and insects, as from the solemn gesticulations they are observed to make, as often as they rest upon the ground, or return to their nests. For, first of all, they throw their heads backwards in a posture, as it were, of adoration; then they strike, as with a pair of castinets, the upper and lower part of their bill together; and afterwards prostrate their necks, in a suppliant manner, quite down to the ground: always repeating the same gesticulations three or four times. Shaw's Travels, p. 428, 429.

one of which is large, of a brownish colour, with a very fine eye, and may be looked upon as a domestic bird, as it mostly frequents the tops of houses; so that one may often see hawks and pigeons standing close to one another: but it is to be observed, that these hawks are not birds of prey, though they eat flesh when they can find it. The Turks never kill them, having a sort of veneration for them, as well as their ancestors, amongst whom the killing of one of these animals was a capital offence.

They have abundance of wild-geese in Egypt, of a different kind from those in Europe; and vast numbers of wild ducks frequent the pools in the low grounds, which are not dry till some months after the inundation of the river is abated. Quails are taken in surprising quantities, but their flesh is generally black, hard, and ill-tasted; though by purchasing them alive, and feeding them awhile in coops, that offensive bitterness, which they contract from their natural food, is in a great measure removed. They have no pheasants in Egypt, but there are woodcocks, snipes, and partridges; which last, however, are very different from those of other countries. They are about the size of a small dove; the cock is a beautiful brown bird, adorned with large spots of a lighter colour; and the feathers of the hen are like those of a woodcock. Pigeons are very good in Egypt, and in great plenty, almost every farmer having a dove-house, from whence arises no inconsiderable profit. Of their poultry, the common sort, like ours in Europe, are mostly eaten: but they have a kind of hens little inferior to geese in bigness, both very cheap, and frequently boiled with rice, after the

Turkish manner. Swans are likewise common enough in the branches of the river.

The sandy and mountainous tracts on each side of the Nile produce great plenty of the serpentine and lizard kinds of animals. Of the former, the cerastes of the ancients is the most common species, and abundance of them are taken being reckoned of great use in medicine. These vipers are yellowish, of the colour of the sand they are found in, and have a sort of horns somewhat like those of snails, but of a real horny substance. It is said they will live a long time without any manner of sustenance*.

Serpents of great bulk are not frequently seen, but we are told of a remarkable species in Egypt, called Thaibanne, perhaps the Thebanus Ophites of the ancients. Some of these are said to be three or four yards in length, and as thick as a man's arm. It has a fleshy substance reaching on each side of its neck from its jaw to about a third part of its body; which it extends or contracts at pleasure, and thereby erects and throws itself forwards in a surprising manner. As to dragons and flying serpents, of which some authors speak very confidently, I am apt to believe they rather live in the heads of fanciful men, than either in Egypt or any other country.

* Dr. Shaw tells us, that a Venetian apothecary, who had lived a long time at Cairo, shewed him a couple of these vipers, which he had kept five years in a bottle, well corked, without any sort of food, unless a small quantity of sand, wherein they coiled themselves up in the bottom of the vessel, may be reckoned as such. When he saw them they had just cast their skins, and were as brisk and lively as if newly taken. Shaw's Travels, p. 429.

Strange things are also related of the basilisk, or cockatrice, which is said to be found in Egypt, whose very eyes dart certain death, if we may credit the ancient naturalists. And modern travellers affirm, that there are serpents in some parts of the world, which, by fixing their eyes stedfastly upon little birds, will bring them down from the tops of trees into their very jaws, and then devour them*. I cannot assert any thing of this kind upon my own knowledge, nor can I flatly deny the facts, which perhaps are not impossible; but I must acknowledge, I am not very ready to believe such reports, as they carry with them so great an air of improbability.

There are several sorts of asps in Egypt, whose poisons have various effects, but are finally mortal. That species which Cleopatra is supposed to have made use of, when she put an end to her misfortunes by a voluntary death†, is of a very singular nature.

* Mr. Salmon judiciously observes, that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the nature of things to pronounce positively, that by one means or other a bird cannot possibly have been drawn into the jaws of a serpent at some distance: But he confesses he is more inclined to believe it only a simile of the ancient poets, to illustrate how fatally young fellows are frequently drawn in and taken captive by the eyes of some fair charmer, to their utter destruction.

† After the fatal battle of Actium, and the tragical death of Antony, Cleopatra, seeing her affairs were become desperate, took a resolution to put an end to her life by applying poisonous asps to her arm, whose venom soon spread itself to her heart, and had the desired effect: and thus this haughty princess, as Horace observes, avoided what was the greatest of her fears, the disgrace of being led as an ornament in Cæsar's triumph.

It is thought to eject a less quantity of venom than any other of the kind; but however that be, it is certain that the punctures made by its teeth are almost imperceptible. After a person has been bitten about an hour, he finds himself heavy and inclined to sleep, without any pain or disorder of mind; by degrees his limbs lose their strength, a kind of pleasing stupidity invades his animal faculties, and at length he dies without a groan, or a complaint. Another sort, whose bellies are white, and their backs of a deep blue, have their holes in the banks of the Nile, from whence they spring out furiously upon the unwary passenger. Amputation is the only cure

“Ausa et jacentem visere regiam

“Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas

“Tractare serpentes, ut atrum

“Corpore combiberet venenum,

“Deliberatâ morte ferocior:

“Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens

“Privata deduci superbo

“Non humilis mulier triumpho.”

HOR. Od. xxxvii. Lib. I.

Not the dark palace of the realms below

Can awe the furious purpose of her soul:

Calmly she looks from her superior woe,

That can both death and fear controul:

Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,

And joys to feel the poison in her veins.

Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,

She will not from her own descend,

Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side

His pompous triumph to attend;

But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

for the bite of this animal, without which the patient dies in terrible agonies.

Amongst the Egyptian animals of the lizard kind, the chameleon, though very common, is one of the most remarkable; but as I have long ago given a particular account of that creature and its surprising properties, to describe it in this place would be an unnecessary repetition. It may be observed, however, that the chameleons in Egypt are generally larger than those of other countries.

The worral is a sort of lizard, which sometimes is thirty or forty inches in length, usually of a bright reddish colour, with dark spots intermixed. It is a harmless animal, remarkable for its docility, and particularly for its being affected with music*. It frequents holes and caves in the mountains, where it sleeps during the winter, and only appears in the hottest seasons.

The scincus, which some take to be the land crocodile, is an exact copy of that which frequents the

* An extraordinary instance of this is mentioned by Dr. Shaw, who says he has seen several of these lizards keep exact time and motion with the dervises in their circulatory dances, running over their heads and arms, turning when they turned, and stopping when they stopped. This, the doctor presumes, (as there is no small affinity betwixt the lizard and the serpent) may have some relation to the quality which the serpent is supposed to have, of being naturally affected with music; to which the Psalmist alludes, (Psal. lviii. 4, 5.) when he mentions "the deaf adder, which stoppeth her ear, and refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." Shaw's Travels, p. 429 — But Dr. Pococke, who procured a worral alive, could not perceive that music had any influence upon that animal.

water; but it is very small and harmless, feeding chiefly upon odoriferous herbs and flowers. It is generally found under flat stones, or in the holes of old walls and ruins. About the walls of decayed buildings they have also an ugly lizard, which something resembles a crocodile; and these are seen in greatest numbers at Alexandria.—Thus much may suffice for a specimen of the vegetables and animals of Egypt; for a more particular account whereof the reader may consult Prosper Alpinus, Bellonius, and others, who have wrote copiously on both these subjects.

The method of making Sal Ammoniacum, or as we commonly call it Sal Armoniac, is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt, and deservedly claims our attention. Though scarce any drug be more common in the modern pharmacy, yet the public was entirely at a loss, till within these thirty years, both as to the particular place from whence it came, and how it was prepared. All we knew for certain was, that it came from the Levant, and was a volatile urinous salt, penetrated by an acid. Father Sicard was the first that removed the veil, and let us know that it was made in Egypt, describing also the whole process.

The ancient Sal Ammoniac, called also Sal Cyreniac, described by Pliny and Dioscorides, was a native salt, generated in the earth, or rather the sands, in those large inns or caravanseras, where the crowds of pilgrims lodged, who used to come from all parts to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which stood in a province of Egypt called Cyrenaica. On these occasions a vast number of camels being employed, and those

creatures staling in the stables, or upon the sand; from their urine, which is remarkably strong, sublimed by the heat of the sun, arose a kind of salt, denominated sometimes from the temple Ammoniac, and sometimes from the country Cyreniac. Some authors, however, suspect there never was any such thing, but that the ancient as well as the modern Sal Armoniac was factitious; which controversy I leave to the learned, and proceed to describe the present manner of preparing it in Egypt.

This salt is made of the soot which is caused by burning the dung of cows, camels, or other animals; and the hotter it is, the better; for which reason the dung of pigeons is preferred to all others, though that of camels is much esteemed. It is to be observed, that the dung of beasts, mixed with chopped straw, made into cakes and dried, is the chief fuel burnt by the common people of Egypt, who cannot afford to purchase wood, which is dear, being brought from Asia Minor. The soot made of this fuel (to which some say they add a little sea-salt and the urine of cattle) they put into globular vessels of very thin glass, with short necks of about two inches diameter. These vessels they cover with a coat of clay, or earth, and husks of flax chopped and mixed together, to the thickness of a quarter of an inch; and when that is dried in the sun, they lay on another coat, as thick again as the former, and dry it in the same manner. Then the glasses, being filled within an inch of the neck, and placed over a furnace in a thick bed of ashes, nothing but the necks appearing; and the mouths are luted with wet cotton. In this state they are kept, with a continual strong fire under

them, for three days and three nights successively; during which time the acid and alkaline salts rise up towards the necks of the glasses, where, being hindered from evaporating, they coalesce, harden, and form a whitish mass, which is the Sal Armoniac. The process being finished, they break the glasses, and take out the salt in large cakes, in which form it is sent to Europe.

The method of hatching chickens in ovens is another thing for which Egypt is remarkable, and may be looked upon as an art peculiar to that country. Nay, it is said that only the people of one village are masters of this business, who at the proper season of the year disperse themselves all over Egypt for employment. Almost every town is provided with ovens for this purpose, which are built under-ground, in two rows, facing each other, five or six in a row, with a gallery or passage between. The ovens, which are one above another, are about four feet high, with holes at the top, as there are likewise in the gallery, which they stop up or open, according as they would have the heat augmented or diminished. They heat these ovens with a smothering fire of dung and chopped straw, the smoke whereof is very offensive to the spectator. Having heated them gently for eight or ten days together, putting fresh dung in every day, they then bring the eggs from the lower cells, where they had lain in heaps, and spread them in the upper apartments, so as only to cover the floor, turning them every day, and keeping a moderate fire in a channel that runs along the gallery near the mouths of the ovens. In one or two and twenty days they begin to hatch, at which

time it is very entertaining to visit these places, where we see some of the chickens just putting forth their heads, others with half their bodies out of the shell, and others quite delivered from their imprisonment. The season for producing fowls after this manner is from January to April, while the weather is temperate, for at other times the heat is too violent in Egypt. Indeed the chief skill required in this business is to give the ovens a just degree of heat, neither too much nor too little, in either of which cases the labour would prove unsuccessful. They generally observe this rule, that the eggs be never made hotter than the eye of a man, when they are laid upon it, can well endure. If it happen to thunder, great numbers of eggs miscarry; and at the best, it is observed that many of the chickens want a claw, or have some defect or other; which probably they would not have had, if they had been hatched in the natural way. And some nice people pretend to distinguish one of these pullets, by its taste, from another that has been hatched by a hen; but I look upon this as nothing but imagination. Some have doubted whether this method of hatching chickens could be practised in any other country besides Egypt, the nature of the climate being thought to contribute much towards these productions; but, if I mistake not, the experiment has been made successfully in Italy and other parts of Europe, which puts the matter out of dispute.

The inhabitants of Upper Egypt, if we are rightly informed, have a very singular custom, which deserves to be mentioned. They load a boat with hives of bees, at a time when the honey is spent, and

falling down the river in the night-time, they stop in the morning at such a place as they think most proper for the industrious animal to fly abroad and collect its wax and honey. When night draws on, and the bees are returned to their respective hives, they continue their voyage, stopping again in the morning, and lying at anchor all day, as before. And thus perhaps in six weeks or two months they arrive at Cairo, with a plentiful cargo in their hives, for which they are sure of finding a good market.

The climate of Egypt is very warm, as may be judged from its nearness to the tropic; and its heat is increased by its situation between two ranges of mountains, and by the sandy deserts wherewith it is almost surrounded. Even in winter it is hot in the middle of the day, but the nights and mornings are very cold, occasioned by the great quantity of nitre in the air; and therefore to catch cold, especially in the head, is accounted dangerous. Though the air is generally dry, yet great dews fall in the night-time for several months in the year, which are reckoned pernicious to the eyes; for which reason the inhabitants wrap up their heads and cover their eyes carefully during that season. The most unhealthy time of the year is from the middle of March to the beginning of May, when the South or Hamscen wind blows almost continually for about fifty days, and is sometimes so excessively hot, that people can scarce breathe in it, but are forced to retire into their lower rooms and vaults, and there shut themselves up as close as possible, which is the best security against its pernicious effects. In the month of May, some time before the Nile rises, the North wind begins to

blow, which brings with it the health of Egypt; for if the plague be then in its greatest fury, it immediately abates, and in a short time entirely ceases. It is this wind which tempers the excessive heat of the climate, and renders it wholesome and agreeable; and with this the country is constantly refreshed even till the beginning of November. This wind is likewise of great service with respect to the navigation of the Nile, for it would be impossible to sail up that river without it in the summer season, when its current flows with more than usual rapidity. From November to March the weather is temperate, during which time it is pleasant living in Egypt, the cold being never severe, unless for a week or ten days at the beginning of February. The West and North-West are the winds that bring rain, which falls frequently towards the sea-coast, as I have already observed; but seldom in the middle and upper parts of the country, and that only in little showers for a quarter of an hour or something longer. In summer they have thunder, but without rain, and at a considerable distance. When it blows hard from the South-West, it raises the sand in such a manner that the very sky is darkened, and our sight is interrupted, as if we were surrounded by a fog; and this sand insinuates itself into every crevice and corner, finding its way into the closest chambers, closets, scrutoires, and even the beds themselves; and by such winds as these it is that many people perish in travelling over the sandy desarts.

The air of Cairo in particular is not thought to be very wholesome, especially in the night-time, the smoke frequently hovering over it like clouds, occa-

sioned by their fires which they usually kindle in the evenings. As to the distempers to which the inhabitants of Egypt are chiefly subject, I shall briefly speak of such as fell under my observation; previous to which it may not be improper to take notice, that there is a great mixture of nations in this country, whose habit, temper, and manner of living cannot therefore, in a physical sense, be very exactly described, nor consequently the causes of their disorders be certainly assigned. However, it may suffice pretty well for our purpose to observe, that those who inhabit cities and great towns, and live indolent easy lives, affecting a moist cooling diet, drinking cool liquors in abundance, and bathing often, are generally exceeding fat and corpulent, have cold stomachs, are subject to ruptures, dropsies, and fluxes, and are seldom without rheums, defluxions on the breast and lungs, and other such-like distempers. Many of the superfluous humours indeed are carried off by perspiration, which is the reason that such great quantities of water, sherbets, and other liquors of that nature, are drank without any apparent prejudice; but if the Egyptians do not sweat, the hot weather throws them into a sort of fever, in which case it is certain they reap much benefit by bathing, which removes or at least diminishes many disorders of the blood, and prevents their appearing. The ruptures they are troubled with, are supposed to be occasioned by heats and colds, and by straining their voices excessively in singing, those who cry the hours of prayer from off the mosques being commonly afflicted with that distemper. Fluxes are common at spring and fall, and are more dangerous than when they happen in

summer; but it is to be observed that all diseases are more fatal in Egypt during the Hamsen or hot winds, than at any other season.

Foreigners in particular are very subject to a pain in the stomach, which proceeds from their going open-breasted, thereby chilling their bowels, and sometimes bringing on dangerous fevers and fluxes, especially in autumn, when the river overflows the country. Many persons in May break out into a rash, which continues during the heats, and is thought to proceed chiefly from drinking the waters of the Nile after it begins to rise. This is so common, that it is become fashionable for the patient to carry about with him a sort of wooden pile, and to rub himself with it as he finds occasion.

In the neighbourhood of Cairo, and even in the city itself, many people are afflicted with a kind of leprosy, which is properly an elephantiasis, whereby from their hips downwards they are swelled in such a manner as to lose the form of their limbs, as well as the use of them; and, instead of legs and feet, they are supported by shapeless pillars, like the legs of elephants. Sore eyes are almost universal in the summer-time, occasioned by the scorching heat reflected from the sand, and by the dust itself, which is very subtile and salt, and prejudicial to the sight. Add to this, the gout, gravel, stone, obstructions and inflammations in the bowels, pestilential fevers, and all the diseases whereof the head is capable, which are very common in Egypt.

The Arabs, however, by keeping strictly to the customs of their own country and nation, escape many, if not most of these disorders, and are of a

different temperament from the fat people above-mentioned, having spare and hectic constitutions. And the native villagers or peasants, a race of laborious hardy people, who are inured to all seasons and weathers, eat little, work much, and are of a dark sun-burnt complexion, and are seldom the objects of a physician's care; which is all I need say of their constitutions.

Our accounts of Egypt frequently speak of the plague as a disease very common, or even annual in that country, which is a great mistake; for they have it not often, unless the infection be brought from Constantinople or other places to Alexandria, and then it does not commonly spread beyond that city. Indeed, when the Nile rises later than usual, and falls short of its accustomed height, a plague generally ensues, and sometimes a famine. When it breeds of itself in Egypt, it usually begins about February, which is the coldest month, and rages violently during the hot winds, but ceases to be mortal on the blowing of the North winds, and the first swelling of the river, as has been already intimated. If the infection comes from Greece, it seizes many, but its symptoms are mild, and it seldom proves mortal: When it is derived from Syria, it is more fatal; for though few are seized thereby, yet more die than in the former case: but when the plague is brought by the caravans from Barbary or Ethiopia, as it sometimes happens, it is worse than that from any other quarter, laying all Cairo waste, and preying upon all degrees of people with grievous and frightful symptoms, which generally terminate in the death of the infected. The mortality is sometimes so great, that

it is positively affirmed, that six or seven thousand persons have died in one day at Cairo; however, this rarely happens, and it is thought a large number if seventy thousand die in a year of that distemper.

As soon as the plague begins to show itself at Cairo, the Franks shut up their houses, but the Mahometans go about as usual; and, instead of endeavouring to put a stop to the contagion, (as I observed long ago in speaking of Constantinople) they seem to use the readiest means for its support and propagation. This they do, not only by conversing freely with such as have plague-sores upon them, but by putting on their garment as soon as they are dead, and even selling them together with their moveables publicly, and thereby circulating the infection throughout the whole place; all which flows from an opinion, that God having predetermined the time of a man's death, all precautions are alike fruitless and ridiculous; from which sentiment the bulk of the people are not to be weaned, either by reason or experience: but it has been observed of late, that several great men amongst them, seeing the Europeans escape, have thought proper to retire in the time of a plague, notwithstanding the notion of predestination.

The plague, according to the observations of the most eminent physicians, usually begins with a chillness and shivering, like the access of an intermitting fever; then comes on a nausea, with vehement vomitings, an intense pain about the region of the heart, and a burning fever, which continually preys on the patient, till either death, or the eruption of some bubo, parotis, or other tumour, in the inguina, or

axillæ, or behind the ears, relieve him, by discharging the matter of the disease. Sometimes, indeed, it attacks without any fever, purple spots appearing all at once, the certain signs of present death, but this rarely happens, except at the beginning of some terrible pestilence. It has also been known to make its first appearance in tumours, without any fever, or other violent symptom. Heaviness, pain in the stomach, head and back, cardialgy, broken sleep, anxiety, difficulty of breathing, alteration in the countenance, hiccough, syncope, delirium, convulsive twitchings, diarrhœa, eyes sunk or inflamed, tongue black and dry, vehement thirst, foetid breath, carbuncles, and spots of various colours, are also symptoms commonly attending this deadly disease.

The coming and going of the plague are two things not easily to be accounted for, notwithstanding we are assured of the facts in an unquestionable manner. That the infection is propagated in the air, and thereby transferred from place to place, seems to be a matter out of dispute; but how it is generated therein we are much at a loss to determine*. Some who have lived at Constantinople af-

* The origin and cause of the plague has been a celebrated subject of controversy among physicians. It is generally supposed to be communicated by the air, but in what manner the air become thus deadly is the question. Some will have insects the cause of plagues, as of blights; which being brought in swarms by the wind are taken into the lungs in respiration, mix with the blood and juices and attack and corrode the viscera. Mr. Boyle attributes the plague originally to the effluvia or exhalations emitted into the air from noxious minerals, of which there are many more known to us, than of those that are wholesome. Amongst

firm, that the plague is always more or less in that city; and it is the common opinion in Egypt, that it is always in some part of Barbary or Ethiopia. If this be true, there is some colour of reason to suppose, that the wind blowing long from either of these quarters may bring the contagion into Egypt; and yet, as I have intimated above, it is generally brought from Constantinople, or by caravans from the Southern countries: so that, upon the whole, it is seldom or never generated in Egypt; or, if it is, its first appearance is in the coldest weather, from whence some have supposed that it is occasioned by a stoppage of perspiration; but then how shall we account for its usually raging most in the warmest seasons?

We are still more perplexed, when we consider the cessation of the plague in Egypt, because it happens suddenly, when the North wind begins to blow, and upon the first swelling of the river. It is certain that plenty of running water makes places wholesome, the reason of which is conjectured to be the

the various sorts of particles wherewith the atmosphere is replete, some may be so small and so conveniently shaped, as to enter many of the numerous orifices of the minute glandules of the skin, or other pores thereof. Thus, though neither paper nor bladder be pervious to the elastic part of the air, yet they may be easily penetrated by other corpuscles of the atmosphere, as is made appear by Mr. Boyle, who prepared a dry body, which, being inclosed in ether, would presently pass through the pores thereof, without causing any sensible alteration in them; and that in such plenty, as manifestly to operate on bodies placed at some distance beyond them. But after all these conjectures, we are still in the dark, and at no certainty with respect to the manner in which the plague is generated.

frequent change of air thereby occasioned, the one fluid moving with the other: and hence it has been thought, that the fresh air brought down by the Nile when it begins to rise, at the same time that the North wind brushes off that which was infected, puts a stop to the pestilence in Egypt. But methinks there is some absurdity in this hypothesis, it being difficult to conceive, how the North wind should sweep away the pestilential air, without driving back the purer air supposed to be brought down by the river. In short, the blowing of the wind from the North, and not the rising of the Nile, seems to be the true cause of the cessation of the pestilence, but this I leave to such as have an opportunity of making more accurate observations.

I shall postpone for a while what I have to say farther of Egypt, to give an account of our journey to Mount Sinai, which we found to be the most difficult and troublesome one we had yet undertaken. The monks of Mount Sinai have a convent at Cairo, with whom we agreed for a convenient number of camels, and the common provisions for the road, at about four pounds sterling per camel. We set out in September 1734, in company with the bey of Suez and a large caravan, consisting of three hundred camels laden with corn for that sea port. Ascending the mountain called Maccathum, and keeping Eastward along the sandy hills, we saw many stones that looked like petrified wood; but as the country seems never to have been capable of producing trees, the thing is not easily accounted for. Having travelled ten hours without stopping, we made our first encampment, letting our camels browse a while on the

little shrubs thereabouts, some of which we likewise gathered for fuel. As soon as it grew dark, they made the camels lie down, binding one of their legs to hinder them from rising; or else their method is, to tie them together with a small rope, to prevent their straying away without disturbing the others; and placing their goods in the middle, between themselves and their camels, they take their repose.

Early the next morning we continued our journey, disagreeable enough on account of the clouds of sand raised by the wind, which almost choaked us, and spoiled some of our provisions. Neither was the great motion of the body, occasioned by the long step of the camel, at all pleasant to me, though it is not disagreeable to those who are accustomed to this manner of travelling. The camel generally lies down to be mounted, but if we dismount on the road, we get up again by the assistance of a servant, who stoops down for that purpose. Our stage this day was eleven hours; with which we were not a little fatigued.

About ten in the morning we passed by Adjeroute, a square castle with a small garrison, and keeping the Southern road we soon came to a fine large well, called Beer-el-Suez; but the water is brackish, and the wheel which raises it is very much out of repair. Here is also a tolerable good kane for the reception of the caravans, but we made no stay at it, pursuing our journey to Suez, where we arrived in less than an hour after.

SUEZ, supposed to be the ancient Arsinoe, is situated at the North end of the Heroopolitic gulph, a part of the Red Sea, which took its name from the city of Heroopolis, now Adjeroute as some conjec-

ture. The harbour of this place is almost choaked up with sand, so that vessels of burden lie about a league distant, where there is a safe shore and a good depth of water. The trade of Suez is chiefly to Jedda, on the East side of the Red Sea near Mecca, and is carried on by a fleet of thirty or forty ships, who sail from Jedda at a certain time of the year, whilst the South winds blow, namely, in March or April; for if they miss that opportunity, they lose their passage for a twelvemonth. In October they return to Jedda, laden with corn and rice; in lieu of which they bring home coffee, incense, and some few Indian and Persian commodities, the richest being carried by land with the caravan from Mecca. Coffee is likewise imported to Suez from Feseca in Arabia Felix, which trade is carried on by five or six ships, either French or English. The Grand Signior has five vessels employed in the trade to Jedda; the rest belong to merchants, and are most of them built in the East Indies after the Dutch manner, and probably at some of their settlements.

Before the discovery of the way to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, the Red Sea and the port of Suez were much frequented; but even coffee is now brought cheaper into Europe by the Cape, than it can be by the way of Cairo and Alexandria. Each bag of coffee weighs between three and four hundred pounds, and pays about two shillings sterling when it is shipped from Feseca. At Jedda they take every tenth bag, half of which goes to the captain for his freight, and the other half to the bashaw; and at Suez every pound weight pays a duty of about a penny. The voyage to Suez is reckoned very dan-

gerous, especially South of Tor, where the Madre-pores, a sort of imperfect coral; growing under water, and branching out like a tree, are almost as dangerous to shipping as rocks themselves, insomuch that in those parts, where they have no great depth of water, they find it necessary to come to an anchor every evening.

The town of Suez is but small, and, except at such times as the ships are unloading or taking in their cargo, is very thin of inhabitants. Even the custom-house officers themselves retire when the ships are empty, which are left without any hands in them, fastened with two anchors, to each of which are tied four or five great cables, made of a part of the date-tree. The governor of Suez, whom I have called bey, has the title of captain or admiral; the ordering of marine affairs being more peculiarly his province; but he has a lieutenant or deputy-governor, who resides constantly in the town, and either by himself, or in conjunction with his master, transacts most of the public business. An Arab sheck, who lives at Suez, has also a considerable share of power, whenever he pleases to interfere. What gives him this authority is the great scarcity of water, which is brought from Naba, on the East of the Red Sea; so that upon any dissatisfaction with the people or governors of Suez, he can put a stop to that supply, and they must fetch their water from the above-mentioned well called Beer-el-Suez, which is very brackish and disagreeable. In a word, the want of fresh water is one of the greatest inconveniences Suez labours under, it being so dear as to be sold in the smallest measures: but it is far from being the only one, for

this town, of all others, is the most destitute of every thing that the earth produces, having not one garden about it, nor grass, corn, trees, or any sort of herbage in its neighbourhood.

The Turks have four mosques in Suez, but there are few Christians in the town, except about two hundred of the Greek communion. We went to the house of a Greek priest, who, understanding that we were travelling to Mount Sinai, desired our names, in order that he might pray in the church for our good journey and safe return; which it seems is nothing but a method they have of asking charity. Accordingly we made him a small present, and departed with his blessing.

Having now lost the benefit of our caravan, which proceeded no farther than Suez, we were obliged to put ourselves under the protection of an Arab sheck, who furnished us with proper guides, and undertook to be answerable for our safety. We also procured a recommendatory letter from the bey of Suez to the governor of Tor, desiring him to give us a kind reception at that place, and to prevent, as far as in him lay, our receiving any molestation or injury.

Our water, coffee, biscuit, tobacco, and all other necessary provisions being got ready, and our camels sent round before us, we crossed over the bay from Suez, where it is about a mile in breadth to the Eastern shore, whither boats go every day to fetch water, which is brought in skins on camels from Naba above-mentioned.

After travelling three or four hours South from the place where we landed, we came to a place called Ein-Mouseh or the Springs of Moses, the water issu-

ing from several little hillocks or rising grounds, bringing up the sand along with it, and forming a quagmire which it is dangerous to approach very near, both men and camels having been swallowed up in it, if we were rightly informed. One of these springs affords tolerable good water, but the rest are warm, brackish, and seem to have a small mixture of sulphur. Near this place we took up our first nights lodging, being not willing to fatigue ourselves by beginning with a long day's journey.

We set forwards betimes in the morning, and halted about eleven, when we took some refreshment, and proceeded on till six in the evening, having the Red Sea continually on our right, at about half a league's distance. The next day we went on through the sandy desert, till we came to a small eminence covered with little shrubs, where we made a short stay to let the camels browse upon them, and pitched our tents to shelter us from the heat of the sun. We lay all night in the desert of Shedur, the Shur of the scriptures.

The day following, travelling amongst hills and vales, our Arabs showed us a mountain called Jebel le Marah, near which place it probably was that the Israelites met those bitter waters, which made them murmur against Moses*. After this we came to a vale, or bed of a winter-torrent, called Corondel, which being full of shrubs, though it afforded us no water, we chose for the place of our encampment.

We prevailed with our guides to step a little out of the road, and show us what they call Pharaoh's Bath, which is a grotto in the side of a mountain,

* Exod. xv. 23, 24.

having two mouths, one of them leading to a spring of very hot water, which finds its way through the rock, and falls into the sea in several little streams at the distance of a quarter of a mile, retaining a great degree of warmth to the very last. As soon as one enters the passage leading to the well it makes one sweat plentifully, and grows exceeding hot as we advance farther. It is said that some people, who have gone quite to the water, have had their lights extinguished, and themselves been killed by a sudden vapour. From the whitish substance with which the stones thereabouts are incrustated, as well as from the taste of the water, it appears to contain a great deal of salt and sulphur, and is so nauseous, that it cannot be taken inwardly, but must be used by bathing. It is reckoned good for most disorders of the skin and nerves, but it is particularly esteemed for impotency in men and barrenness in women. Those who make use of this water have it first poured on them before they enter the grotto, and then again in the passage, in order to cause a more plentiful perspiration; and for forty days after this they observe a particular regimen, eating nothing but honey, oil, and bread without salt in it, and drinking only water wherein dates have been steeped.

The next day we met with several Arabs, who begged some bread and tobacco, which being given them, they departed quietly. We passed by the bed of another mountain-torrent called Wouset, near which there is a salt spring, and a few palm-trees. Soon afterwards we saw an encampment of Arabs, who did not give us the least molestation; for some of those people are as remarkable for their

honesty, as others are for being addicted to robbery and plunder. We rested this night in a place where we were invited to stay by a few shrubs and a small spring of brackish water.

From this station we set out early in the morning, passing over several hills abounding with variety of beautiful granites, whereof we collected some specimens. Continuing to wind nearer and nearer to the sea, we came at length into a plainer country; and having travelled till six in the evening, we pitched our tents; fed our camels and took our repose. In two days more we entered the valley of Tor, passing by a salt spring, whose waters spreading over the ground form a sort of cake on its surface. From thence in three hours we came to a grove of palm-trees, and a spring of better water, and in one hour more we arrived at Tor.

During our short stay at Tor, we took our meals in a house belonging to the convent of Mount Sinai, and had the best entertainment that place could afford. This little town stands on the East side of the Red Sea, and has a pretty good harbour, which is commanded by a ruinous castle. The residence of an Arab governor, to whom we presented our letter from the bey of Suez, which was the more welcome, as it was accompanied with a handsome present. The town is inhabited chiefly by Arabs, and twenty or thirty families of the Greek communion, who call the place Raitho. Some have conjectured Tor to be the ancient Paran, as described by Ptolemy; though it is generally placed about thirty miles Northward within the desert, which still retains its name.

The greatest curiosities about Tor are the production of the Red Sea, which is filled with a vast variety of marine vegetables, such as the madrepores above-mentioned, fungi or mushrooms, brain-stones, and other coralline bodies, which appear, when the sea is calm, like a grove or forest under water; particularly the branched madrepores, whereof some are six or seven feet high, spreading themselves like an oak, or shooting up pyramidically like a cyprus. The other species I have mentioned frequently grow into very large masses, and are used in the buildings of Tor. The fungus, properly so called, seems to be fastened to the rock by a small root, and, contrary to the land-mushroom, has its gills turned upwards.

The brain-stone appears also to have a root, and, like the fungus, observes a certain specific configuration, which cannot be said of any other coralline bodies.* One thing is remarkable of the mad-

* Dr. Shaw (whose physical as well as geographical observations on the countries through which he travelled are very judicious) takes notice, that though nature has not allowed the marine plants one large root, as it has done to those of the land, yet it hath wisely supplied that mechanism by a number of little ones which are distributed all over the plant in so just a proportion, that they are lodged thicker upon the branches, where the vegetation is principally carried on, than in the trunk, where it is more at a stand, and which therefore is often found naked, and seldom increases in the same proportion with the branches. The terrestrial plants could not subsist without an apparatus of great and extensive roots, because they are not only to be hereby supported against the violence of the wind, which would otherwise blow them down, but their food also is to be fetched at a great distance: whereas the marine vegetables, as they are more securely placed, so they lie within a nearer reach of their food, growing

repores, that both the red and white ones become yellow soon after they are taken out of the water.

This uncommon sort of botany is very entertaining, and would employ the attention of a traveller much longer than his hired conductors are willing to wait for him: and the great diversity of shells which are found about the port of Tor, and upon several other parts of the coast, or in the shallows of the Red Sea, afford us likewise a most agreeable amusement. The *concha veneris* is to be met with variously spotted, and of various sizes; and, in short, all the turbinated and bivalve kinds are not only remarkable for the wantonness which nature has shown in their colours, but for their extraordinary dimensions, some of the former sort being fifteen or eighteen inches long, and of the latter as much in diameter.

It is justly observed, that the inhabitants of Tor are indebted to their port for several great advantages. From thence, as has been already mentioned, they draw most of the materials for building their houses; and the excellent fish, with which it abounds, is the chief part of their sustenance; whilst the shells they are furnished with from the same plentiful magazine supply the place of cups, jars, dishes, and other household utensils. Thus if nature has been sparing of her blessings to these people on one hand, she has been bountiful on the other; and if the land

as it were in the midst of plenty; and therefore an apparatus of the former kind must have been unnecessary, either to nourish or support them. Shaw's Travels, p. 386.

is barren, the productions of the sea make some amends for the deficiency.

Having staid two days at Tor, we continued our journey towards Mount Sinai, in company with a monk belonging to that convent. In two hours we came to several springs of salt warm water, and a great number of palm-trees, where the monks have a garden. It is the common opinion, and it seems to be well grounded, that this is the place called Elim in scripture, where the Israelites encamped, and found twelve wells of water and seventy palm-trees*. Indeed, we do not now find the exact number of springs mentioned by Moses; but those that are wanting, which are not above two or three, may reasonably be supposed to have been choaked up by drifts of sand, which almost every body knows are frequent in Arabia: and as to the palm-trees it is no wonder that in so long a course of years they are increased to above two thousand. One of these wells is called Hammam Mousa, or the Bath of Moses; which the Greek monks, and even the Arabs themselves, have in great veneration, as believing it was thereabouts that Moses and his particular household were encamped.

From Elim, looking Eastward, we have a distinct view of Mount Sinai, towards which we directed our course over the desert of Sin, (as it is called to this day) the place where God first gave manna to the murmuring Israelites. We were eight hours in crossing this plain or wilderness, where we saw a great variety of lizards and vipers, and many acacia-

* Exod. xv. 27. Numb. xxxiii. 9.

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trees, called cyale by the Arabs, much resembling the tree they call sount in Egypt; and from the cyale, as we were informed, the gum-arabic flows naturally without incision. Having traversed this wilderness, we rested at the entrance of a narrow valley, near a small spring of indifferent water.

We spent the next day in passing through many intricate and difficult ways among the mountains, lying between the desert of Sin and Mount Sinai, which itself stands in a spacious plain. We took another night's repose before we entered this plain, and early in the morning arrived at the Greek convent of St. Catharine, commonly called the convent of Mount Sinai, at the North-East side of which it is situated, just at the foot of the mountain. The manner of our reception here (the same that all pilgrims meet with) is a singularity that deserves to be mentioned; for we were not admitted in at the door, which is never open but when the archbishop is installed, but were drawn up about thirty feet high by a windlass, and taken into the convent through a window. This is done to prevent the Arabs breaking in upon them by surprise, with whom they are often at variance.

The first foundation of this great convent, as it may be called with respect to others that are about Mount Sinai, seems to have been laid by the pious empress Helena, in a tower which still retains her name, and contains in it three chapels, besides apartments for the archbishop; who, however, does not often honour them with his presence, but generally resides at Cairo. The convent is irregular and ill-built, partly stone, and partly of unburnt brick; the

walls having little square towers at each corner, and in the middle of each side. The whole length of it, from East to West, is about two hundred and sixty feet, and its breadth one hundred and fifty; within which space not only the convent, or house itself, is included, together with its mills, bake-houses, and all necessary offices, but likewise the great church of the Transfiguration, and abundance of little chapels. The convent stands on a descent, but the original design seems to have been to raise the lower part by a great number of arches, several of which are still remaining, and so having laid the first floor on a level, to have raised two more above it; for the walls round have three ranges of holes or windows. These walls and arches, and the church above-mentioned, are the only parts that have the appearance of antiquity, and are well built of large hewn stone; but the walls on the South side are of a more modern structure. They are six feet high, and have a walk round the top of them, but in some places they are ruinous. The main gate, as has been observed already, is never opened but when the archbishop first comes to the convent; but they have a small door that opens into the garden.

The church of the Transfiguration, which stands on the lowest ground of the convent, is a large and beautiful structure, the roof being of Cyprus, covered with lead, and supported by two rows of marble columns, the capitals whereof are different one from another, though undoubtedly designed for the same building. The floor is elegantly laid out in mosaic work, in which there is a great variety of beautiful and costly marbles brought from Damascus. On

the partition, which separates the chancel from the body of the church, is placed a small marble chest, adorned with foliages, wherein are preserved the left hand and the skull of St. Catharine. The skull is not taken out of the shrine to be shown to strangers, and is probably imperfect; but the hand is entire, having rings on the fingers. Adjoining to the East end of the church is the chapel of the Holy Bush, in which the angel of the Lord appeared to Moses in a flame of fire, as he was watching the flocks of his father Jethro*. On the very spot, as they pretend, where this burning bush grew, there now lies a white marble stone under the altar, which they kiss with great devotion; and, in imitation of Moses, they pull off their shoes whenever they enter or approach this chapel. To the North of this is a chapel dedicated to St. James, and on the South side is that of the Holy Fathers, in which last are buried twelve martyrs, as appears from a Greek inscription. There are near twenty other chapels about the convent, each dedicated to some particular saint.

The papas and caloyers in this monastery are about a hundred and fifty in number, but many of the fraternity reside at Cairo, Tor, and other places. Those at Mount Sinai especially, live a very strict and austere life, abstaining always from flesh, and in Lent from every thing that is the produce of flesh, as butter, cheese, milk, &c. and feeding chiefly upon bread, rice ill dressed with oil, vinegar, and onions, dried horse-beans sodden in water, olives, sallad, and pot-herbs, dates, figs, almonds, and such-like dry

* Exod. iii. 1, 2.

diet as constituted the xerography* of the primitive Christians. They are permitted to eat oil and shell-fish only on Saturdays, Sundays, and feast-days in Lent; but they eat dried fish at other seasons. From Sunday evening to Ash-Wednesday in the afternoon they eat nothing, and they keep the same rigid fast from Thursday evening till Saturday in the afternoon the week before Easter. They are supplied with fish from their sister convent at Tor, but most of their other provisions are sent them from Cairo, except what their own gardens produce, which by a surprising industry they have made to furnish them, in this barren country, with variety of roots, herbs, and fruits, excellent in their kinds, and in great abundance†.

* The word is Greek and signifies the feeding on dried foods; which many Christians in the first ages observed so strictly, as not only to abstain from flesh and wine, but even from all succulent and vinous fruits; and some even brought themselves to bare bread and water. Tertullian (in his book 'de abstinentiâ,' cap. ix.) speaks of the xerophagia, as a thing commendable in time of persecution.

† Dr. Shaw is more particular on this head, whose words I shall therefore transcribe. "The monks of Sinai, says he, in a long process of time, have covered over with dung, and the sweepings of their convent, near four acres of naked rocks; which produce as good cabbage, roots, sallad, and all kinds of pot-herbs, as any soil and climate whatsoever. They have likewise raised olive, plum, almond, apple, and pear-trees, not only in great numbers, but of excellent kinds. The pears particularly are in such esteem at Cairo, that there is a present of them sent every season to the bashaw, and persons of the first quality.

They have two wells in the convent, one of them called the Well of Moses, the water whereof is cold, and serves them to drink in summer; the other, the Well of the Holy Bush, which being warmer is used in winter. Their springs depend much upon the rain, generally failing them in dry seasons; which having happened of late years, their gardens have suffered greatly, and many of their trees perished for want of water; however, they have commonly enough for their own drinking.

The convent of Mount Sinai is exempted from all jurisdiction, being governed by an archbishop, as he is called, who is elected by the monks from among their own body, and consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem. When the archbishop is at Cairo, the convent is governed by a superior, whom they call *dikaïos*; but he does very little without the advice of the *synaxis*, a sort of chapter consisting of seven or eight of the fraternity, either distinguished by their age, their great judgment, or the services they have done the convent. But if the archbishop be absent beyond the sea, the affairs of the house at Mount Sinai are wholly governed by the *archimandrite* or superior of the convent at Cairo.

If the empress Helena laid the first foundation of the

“Neither are their grapes inferior in size and flavour to any what-
“soever: it being fully demonstrated, by what this little garden
“produces, how far an indefatigable industry can prevail over
“nature; and that several places are capable of culture and im-
“provement, which were intended by nature to be barren, and
“which the lazy and slothful have always suffered to be so.”
Shaw's Travels, p. 384.

convent of Mount Sinai, as has been intimated, the greatest part of it however was built by the emperor Justinian; for in the church of the Transfiguration we find some inscriptions in honour of him and his empress Theodora, whose pictures in mosaic work are likewise to be seen over the high altar. From the antiquity of this convent therefore, in which a constant succession of monks have lived, with only some small interruption from the Arabs, ever since the time of the above-mentioned emperor, it is probable that divine service is performed here most agreeably to the ancient customs of the Greek church; and indeed it is done with more decency than the Greeks observe in many other places. Their offices are very long, and take up great part of their time, though they say them as quick as possible; and no wonder they are ready in performing them, since it is the whole employment of their lives. In Lent they rise at midnight, and perform certain devotions, and celebrate the eucharist four times a week. They have always prayers at four in the afternoon, after which they eat a moderate supper, and go betimes to their repose.

When pilgrims first arrive at the convent, they are conducted to their apartments, and a caloyer is appointed to attend them, and to prepare their provisions, which are usually served up in their own chambers, though on certain days they dine with the monks in the refectory. The ceremony of washing their feet is likewise performed, as it is at Jerusalem; which is done by a priest if the pilgrim be in orders, but if not, by a caloyer or lay-brother; the whole society sitting in the hall, singing hymns suit-

able to the occasion. After the ceremony is over, one of the monks brings an urn and a bason to wash their hands, and then sprinkles the pilgrims with rose-water. All this is done in the refectory, where they are likewise entertained at dinner; during which time a monk reads certain portions of scripture. The archbishop has a table at the upper end, on which they set a covered plate with bread in it, and on each side two small silver cups of water. This plate is carried round the table by one of the priests, each person taking a piece of bread; and in like manner the cups, which are filled with wine when they have it to spare, are handed about to the company, out of which every one drinks a little. After this they go seat themselves near the archbishop's chair, where they discourse together for some time, each person taking a plate of wheat or pease out of the baskets that stand there, and picking them clean; the meaning of which I do not understand, unless it be to intimate, that all our amusements, even that of conversation itself, should be accompanied with some useful actions. This done the pilgrims are usually conducted to the archbishop's apartments, where they are shown the register of the several benefactors to the convent; it being customary to give something after the performance of this ceremony.

The story of St. Catharine, who has given name to this convent and to a part of the neighbouring mountain, is briefly this: That being fastened to a wheel at Alexandria, under the emperor Maxentius, in order to be put to death, the wheel miraculously broke into pieces; but being afterwards beheaded, her body was carried from thence by angels to the

top of this mountain, the saint having prayed to God that it might not fall into the hands of the infidels. Here it lay concealed, say they, for above three hundred years, when it was brought down with great solemnity by the monks, and deposited in the convent, in consequence of a revelation granted to one of their fraternity.

Some say that Sergius, who is reported to have been an accomplice with Mahomet, and to have assisted him in compiling the Koran, and framing the system of the Mahometan religion, was a monk of the convent of Mount Sinai. Others affirm, that Mahomet himself was a servant belonging to the monastery, and used to drive their camels; and that one day falling asleep before the gate, an eagle came and hovered a long time over his head, which was looked upon as a presage of his future greatness. But all this seems to be mere fiction, otherwise it would probably have been mentioned in a history of the convent which they showed us in their library. This history has it, that Mahomet was born in the desarts of Kinsi in Arabia Felix, and that when he came to the convent he was honourably entertained by the the monks, upon which account he granted to them, and to Christians in general, great privileges by a patent*, which remained in their hands

* Dr. Pococke has obliged us with an English translation of this patent from the modern Greek, which I shall take the liberty of transcribing, as I think it cannot fail of being agreeable to the reader, who from hence will naturally be induced to reflect, how little regard the followers of Mahomet have had to the rules herein laid down with respect to their behaviour to Christians in gene-

till the time of sultan Selim; who, thinking it too valuable a treasure to be in their possession, took it

ral.—“As God is great and governeth, from whom all the prophets are come, for there remaineth no record of injustice against God; through the gifts that are given unto men, Mahomet the son of Abdallah, the apostle of God, and careful guardian of the whole world has wrote the present instrument to all those that are his national people, and of his own religion, as a secure and positive promise to be accomplished to the Christian nation and relations of the Nazarene; whosoever they may be, whether they be the noble or the vulgar, the honourable or otherwise saying thus: I. Whosoever of my nation shall presume to break my promise and oath, which is contained in this present agreement, acts contrary to the oath, and will be a resister of the faith, (which God forbid) for he becometh worthy of the curse, whether he be the king himself, or a poor man, or what person soever he may be. II. That whenever any one of the monks in his travels shall happen to settle upon any mountain, hill, village, or other habitable place, on the sea, or in desarts, or in any convent, church, or house of prayer, I shall be in the midst of them, as the preserver and protector of them, their goods and effects, with my soul, aid, and protection; jointly with all my national people; because they are a part of my own people, and an honour to me. III. Moreover, I command all officers not to require any poll-tax of them, or any other tribute, because they shall not be forced or compelled to any thing of this kind. IV. None shall presume to change their judges or governors; but they shall remain in their office without being deposed. V. No one shall molest them when they are travelling on the road. VI. Whatever churches they are possessed of, no one is to deprive them of them. VII. Whosoever shall annul any one of these decrees, let him know positively, that he annuls the ordinance of God. VIII. Moreover, neither their judges, governors, monks, servants, disciples, or any others depending on them, shall pay any poll-tax, or be molested on that account; because I am their protector, wheresoever they shall be, either by land or by sea, East or West, North or South; because both they and all that belong to them are included in this my pro-

from them, and granted them another under his own hand in the same terms, but upon the hard condition

missory oath and patent. IX. And of those that live quietly and solitarily upon the mountains, they shall not exact neither poll-tax nor tythes from their incomes, neither shall any Musselman partake of what they have; for they labour only to maintain themselves. X. Whenever the crop of the earth shall be plentiful in its due time, the inhabitants shall be obliged out of every bushel to give them a certain measure. XI. Neither in time of war shall they take them out of their habitations, nor compel them to go to the wars; nor even then shall they require of them any poll-tax. [What has been said relates to the monks of Mount Sinai; what follows relates to every Christian.] XII. Those Christians who are inhabitants, and with their riches and traffic are able to pay the poll-tax, shall pay no more than twelve drachms. XIII. Excepting this, nothing more shall be required of them, according to the express order of God, that says, Do not molest those who have a veneration for the books that are sent from God; but rather, in a kind manner, give of your good things to them, and converse with them, and hinder every one from molesting them. XIV. If a Christian woman shall happen to marry a Musselman, the Musselman shall not cross the inclination of his wife, to keep her from her church and prayers, and the practice of her religion. XV. That no person hinder them from repairing their churches. XVI. Whosoever acts contrary to this my grant, or gives credit to any thing contrary to it, becomes truly an apostate to God and to his divine apostle, because this protection I have granted to them, according to this promise. XVII. No one shall bear arms against them, but, on the contrary, the Musselmans shall wage war for them. XVIII. And by this I ordain, that none of my nation shall presume to do or act contrary to this my promise, until the end of the world.

WITNESSES.

Ali, the son of Abou Thaleb.
Homar, the son of Hattavi.
Ziphir, the son of Abuam.
Saïtt, the son of Maatt.

of giving food to all the neighbouring Arabs that should come to the convent. This they performed a great while, letting down bread or corn by the same machine that is used to draw up the pilgrims; but the Arabs frequently robbing them of their corn before it arrived at the monastery, and coming in too great numbers, the monks, unable to support them, were obliged to retire to Tor in the last century; though matters were soon accommodated, and they returned to the peaceable possession of their convent at Mount Sinai.

This mountain in general is called Jebel Mousa by the Arabs, that is, the Mountain of Moses; and sometimes, by way of eminence, the Mountain only. It is in reality one hill with two summits, but the Greeks have divided it into four or five parts, which have obtained so many different names. However, the most common division of it is into Sinai, proper-

Thavitt, the son of Nefis.

Muathem, the son of Kasvi.

Amphachin, the son of Hassan.

Azur, the son of Jassin.

Abombaker, the son of Ambi Kaphe.

Ottman, the son of Gafas.

Ambtelack, the son of Messutt.

Phazer, the son of Abbas.

Talat, the son of Amptoulak.

Saat, the son of Abbatt.

Kasmer, the son of Abid.

Ambtullack, the son of Omar.

This present was written by the leader, the successor of Ali the son of Abou Thaleb; the prophet marking it with his hand at the mosque of the prophet, (in whom be peace) in the second year of the Hegira, the third day of the month Machorem.

ly so called, and Horeb. The names of the other parts are the mountain of St. Catharine, Mount Serich, Mount Episteme, and the Mount of Moses.

The usual way up to Mount Sinai is by the stone steps that were formerly laid from the bottom to the top of it at the expence of the empress Helena, which begin at the convent, on the North side of Mount Horeb. The steps are narrow, of the rough red granite of the mountain, though that is not the only sort it produces, there being some of a greyish colour, amongst a variety of others. At present, most of these steps are either washed out of their places by the rains, defaced by the weather, or quite carried away; so that the ascent is very fatiguing, and sometimes imposed as a penance. Ascending we pass by a fine spring on the right hand, and the chapel of St. Mary on the left; and advancing still higher we come to a narrow gate-way, and beyond that a second. At the first of these, it is said, all Christians used formerly to deliver a certificate of their having confessed to the convent below, and there received another paper to carry to the second gate, in order to their being permitted to receive the sacrament on the top of Mount Sinai, which it seems was anciently the custom. A little beyond the second gate two roads strike off to the right, the one towards Mount Horeb, the other into the Vale of Jah, that is, the Vale of God, wherein stands the convent of the Forty Martyrs. From hence the ascent grows very steep, which brings us first to two adjoining chapels, dedicated to Elias and Elisha; in the former of which there is a little grotto, wherein the prophet is said

to have dwelt*, when he fled hither to avoid the fury of Jezebel. Higher up we are shown something like the print of a camel's foot in the rock, which the Mahometans hold in great veneration, as believing it to have been stamped there by Mahomet's own camel, which they say placed one foot upon this mountain, another at Cairo, a third at Damascus, and a fourth at Mecca. This must needs have been an animal of an extraordinary size; but, unfortunately for the contrivers of this story, the print of the foot in question is no bigger than that of an ordinary camel. The next thing observable, as we approach nearer the top, is a great stone jutting out from the rock; beyond which, they tell us, Elias was forbidden to go, to ascend higher being permitted only to Moses.

The summit of Mount Sinai is somewhat conical, or rather it has two small summits, on one of which is a mosque, and on the other a Greek church, and a second at a little distance belonging to the Latins; it being on this very spot, according to tradition, that Moses received the law from God himself†. Adjoining to the Latin church is a great rock, which constitutes the highest point of the mountain, and cannot be ascended without some difficulty. On one side of this rock there is a little cave or grotto, wherein Moses is said to have fasted forty days and forty nights‡; and from thence there is a crack quite through the rock, so as to let in the light. Here it was, say they, that the Lord hid Moses while his

* 1 Kings xix. 8, 9. † Exodus xxxi. 18. ‡ Exod. xxxiv. 28.

glory passed by, that he might not see his face†; and thus they point out many other places mentioned in the holy scriptures. It is remarkable, that the North part of Mount Sinai is of red granite for above half way up, the rest being of a yellowish ground with small black grains; insomuch that the mountain at a distance appears of two colours.

The easiest of the three ways to the top of Mount Sinai, and which Moses is thought to have used, is called the Road of Serich, beginning with a gentle ascent from the Vale of Raha, and running between the little summits of Mount Horeb, which hill abounds with shrubs and aromatic herbs, affording good pasture for the cattle. On the left of this road, as we ascend Mount Horeb, are four chapels, dedicated to St. Anne, St. Panteleemon, St. John Baptist, and the Holy Girdle of the Virgin Mary. A little nearer the road than any of these there is a long cell cut out of a rock, wherein two brothers, the sons of a king, are said to have lived as hermits: and near St. John's chapel there is a building which they say belonged to a hermit whose name was Gregory. Higher up, upon a little plain between mount Horeb and Sinai, there is a cell under a rock, representing, but very rudely, the head of a calf; and in this hole the monks will have it that Aaron cast the head of the golden calf ‡ which he set up to be worshipped by the Israelites; for as to the body, they are not solicitous about it, looking upon the head of the animal as the object of their adoration. Near this place is a rock which nature seems to have formed into steps, whereon they pretend the molten idol was erected. Whether

† Exod. xxxiii. 22, 23.

‡ Ibid. xxxii. 4.

this be true or not, a fitter situation could hardly have been chosen for that purpose, as it might be seen from all the neighbouring valleys.

After having viewed Mount Sinai and Mount Hor-eb, we paid a visit to the convent of the Forty Martyrs, where the fathers keep only a servant, who takes care of their large garden, which is filled with the finest, and almost the only fruit-trees in this part of the country. Here we took a night's repose, and began early in the morning to climb up the high mountain of St. Catharine, a task more fatiguing than any we had yet undertaken. We were accompanied by a caloyer, and an Arab boy, who carried with him a small leathern bottle of water, with which we refreshed ourselves several times before we reached the top of the mountain, the weather being warm, and the hill in many places full of sharp stones, steep, and slippery. It was at least four hours before we gained the summit, where the honest monk pretended to show us the print of St. Catharine's body in the rock, where it is said to have laid before it was removed to the great convent, as already related. About half way up the mountain there is a spring of fine water, which fills a sort of bason formed naturally in the rock. This is called the Well of the Partridges, having been discovered by those birds, as they pretend, to the monks who brought down the corpse of St. Catharine, when they were excessively thirsty, and ready to faint under their burden. From the top of this mountain, which is much higher than any other in these parts, we have an extensive prospect, and its two arms or gulphs on each hand of us, the Heroopolitic on the right, and the Elantic on the left, with part

of Arabia Deserta. This hill is full of a sort of dendrite or bushy marble, if I may call it so, which, when broken, exhibits the representation of trees or bushes: and from such stones as these Mount Sinai had its name, according to Burxtorf and others, who derive it from a Hebrew word which signifies a bush or bramble; some of the red granite stones of that mountain being also marked with the figures of shrub and trees, but not in so beautiful a manner as these of Mount Catharine. Our curiosity being satisfied, we descended the same way we came up, not without great fatigue and difficulty, and lodged again at the convent of the Forty Martyrs.

The next day we went along the valley into the plain of Rephidim, which lies to the Westward of Mount Sinai, where the Israelites encamped when they came out of the wilderness of Sin, and where they murmured for want of water. On this occasion God was pleased miraculously to supply their wants, by causing Moses to smite the rock with his rod, upon which the waters gushed out in a plentiful manner; and from the murmuring of the Israelites, and their tempting the Lord, Moses called the place Massah and Meribah*. This rock of Meribah, or of Rephidim, is still to be seen lying loose by itself in the plain on the West side of Mount Sinai, to which it seems formerly to have belonged, being a large block of red granite, whereof the greatest part of that hill consists, as has been already mentioned. It is about twelve feet high, and on the top of it, as well as down each side towards the South end of it,

* Exodus xvii. 1—7.

the water (as we may suppose) has formed a sort of channel which appears to be incrustated; and of a colour somewhat different from the rest of the rock. All along this channel are a great many mouths or openings, of various dimensions, from whence the water is imagined to have issued. It must be acknowledged that these seem to be evident tokens of the truth of the miracle recorded, for neither art nor chance appears to have had any hand in their formation; and there are likewise certain fissures within the openings, some horizontal and others perpendicular, which cannot possibly have been the work of any tool or instrument. The Arabs call this the Stone of Moses, and imagine it endued with such virtues, that they put herbs into the holes I have been describing, and then give them to their camels, as a sovereign remedy for all their disorders. It may not be amiss to mention, that the Arabs tell us of such another stone as this about twenty miles Northwest of Mount Sinai, with openings all about it, and a channel discoloured by the running of the water. If this be true, it is probably the other rock which Moses smote twice, and the water came out abundantly*, being after the Israelites returned from Eziongeber into the wilderness of Sin or Kadish. Let me only add, that the plain of Rephidim, where this extraordinary antiquity is to be seen, is likewise remarkable for the victory gained over Amalek by the Israelites, whilst Aaron and Hur supported the hands of Moses†.

After another night's repose in the monastery of

* Numbers xx. 11.

† Exodus xvii. 8—13.

the Martyrs, we spent the following day in viewing some other parts of the mountain which we had not yet particularly observed. We crossed the valley of Melgah, on the South side of which is the convent of St. Peter and St. Paul, where that of St. Catharine keeps a servant; and on the East side of it is the ruined monastery of St. Mary or David. Passing over the hills to the Westward, we came to a pleasant valley called Teleh, wherein are several gardens and plenty of water. Here is the little monastery of St. Cosmas and Damianus, to which a servant is likewise sent from the mother-convent. There is a ruined building on the North of this valley, to which the monks used sometimes to be sent to do penance; and it is at present called the prison of St. John Climax, from a cell of that hermit under a neighbouring rock. The number of hermits, who formerly inhabited these mountains, is almost incredible; but the insults and oppressions of the Arabs have forced them to remove. It is said that the emperor Justinian built the convent of Mount Sinai at their request.

Mount Serich, which we likewise took a view of, is a long narrow hill to the West of Horeb, where we met with nothing remarkable. Mount Episteme is so called from a woman of that name, who lived on it with her husband Galaktion; where a nunnery was afterwards founded, the ruins of which are still to be discerned. Near the South-west corner of this mountain, which is inconsiderable with respect to those already described, is a little hill called Araone by the Arabs, and by the Greeks the Tabernacle of the Testimony, where they say Aaron was consecrat-

ed, and first performed the offices of the priest-hood; so that, if there be any dependence upon this tradition, it is probable that on this hill was placed the tabernacle of the congregation. Between Mount Episteme and Mount Sinai, not far from the convent of St. Catharine, is the round hill which the Greeks call the Mount of Moses, where they say he was keeping the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, when the Lord appeared and spake to him out of the bush which burnt and was not consumed; whereof mention has been made already.

The famous Sinaic inscription, mentioned by Kircher in his *Prodromus Copticus*, is on a small stone at the foot of Mount Horeb, about half a mile to the West of the convent of St. Catharine: but the Arabs, superstitiously imagining that the stone had some extraordinary virtue in it when beaten to powder and taken inwardly, have broken off so many pieces of it, that the inscription is almost entirely defaced. There are likewise abundance of other inscriptions on the stones about these mountains; but as they are in a very ancient character, void of beauty and regularity, and absolutely unintelligible, I thought the pains of copying them might very well be spared.

Having seen every thing worth notice about Mount Sinai and its neighbourhood, at least what is generally shown to strangers, we returned to the convent of St. Catharine, where we were again drawn up and taken in at the window. Being much fatigued with our journey hither, as well as with rambling up and down the mountains, we were easily prevailed upon to stay two or three days in this retirement,

which we spent partly in attending the service of the church, and partly in the library, where they have many Greek books of the first printing, but few valuable manuscripts. I also took this opportunity to throw together some miscellaneous observations relating to these parts of the world, which could not so properly be introduced in the narrative of our travels.

As to the natural history of Arabia Petræa, the only part of that vast country which came under our notice, it has already been occasionally touched upon, the qualities of several of its springs having been mentioned, and some of the fossil productions of its mountains. With respect to its waters I may add, that their wholesomeness generally makes amends for their disagreeable taste, for they create an appetite, and are remarkable lenitive and diuretic; but the brackish waters of the wells of Elim are of a crude digestion, occasioning sallowness of complexion, scrophulous tumours, and obstructions in the bowels, to which the inhabitants of Tor, who drink them, are extremely subject.

If we judge of the state of the earth below by the quality of these waters, the bowels of Arabia must abound with salt and sulphur; and yet we never saw either of those minerals in substance or concreted, near such places as one would judge, from other symptoms, contained them in great plenty. But of the more permanent fossils, there are several which are not common in other countries; such as the Selenites, which shoots itself, in various shapes and colours, for thirty or forty yards together; and the pseudo-fluor, which frequently distinguishes itself in large

expansions. Of the various kinds of granite, and the great abundance of it in the mountains of Arabia, I have spoken already; the constituent particles whereof are sometimes so small and well compacted, that the contexture appears equal to that of serpentine or porphyry. But as to fossil shells, and such-like testimonies of the deluge, they are rarely to be met with in the mountains of Sinai, being destroyed, as we may suppose, by the corrosive quality of the original menstruum of those marbles; for in such rocks as approach nearer to free-stone, the shell of an *Echinus*, as *Pectunculus*, or some other inhabitant of the waters, is frequently discovered. The ruins of a small village at Ein-el-Mousa are full of fossil shells, great quantities of which are likewise found between Suez and Cairo, and all over the Lybian mountains.

No country perhaps has fewer species of animals in it than Arabia, nature having made very little provision for their sustenance. The vipers and lizards of the wilderness of Sin I have already mentioned; to which I may add, that we were sometimes molested by little swarms of locusts and hornets, of an uncommon size. We saw very few birds between Suez and Mount Sinai, and not many four-footed animals, but now and then a hare, a wolf, or an antelope. The Arabs tell us they have some other wild beasts, but in no great numbers, as the tyger, or leopard, being a small spotted sort they call *gatto-pardai*, and the dubbah or hyæna.

The whole face of the country, or the greatest part of it however, is wild and disagreeable, consisting of vast sandy plains, or naked and rocky moun-

tains. Nor is it often refreshed with rain, except about the equinoxes; but the few trees and herbs that grow here are chiefly nourished by the plentiful dews that fall in the night-time. Arabia therefore is almost as destitute of vegetable as animal productions; for we scarce meet with any trees except the Acacia and palm-tree, though some parts of the desert are over-run with small shrubs and bushes.

The weather in Arabia is generally uniform, the sky being clear, and the wind blowing briskly in the day, and ceasing in the night. The Southerly winds are the gentlest, but those in other directions are most frequent, and sometimes sweep along with them great drifts of sand, which are very troublesome and dangerous to travellers, and cause surprising changes in the surface of the country, raising hillocks and mountains in the midst of the plains. Many people have likewise been suffocated by the hot burning winds, which now and then infest these sandy countries*: and it is remarkable, that the dead bodies of men or beasts will lie a great many years in these deserts without mouldering away; which perhaps is owing to the violent heat of the sand,

* M. Thevenot relates, that in his journey from Suez to Cairo they had one of these hot winds, which lasted for a day or longer, and were forced to turn their backs to it to take a little breath. Their water was heated to such a degree, that they could not drink it; and the camels were so infested with it, that they were not able to feed. It did not last above six hours in its greatest violence; otherwise one half of the caravan must have perished. He adds, that the caravan of Mecca was so annoyed with such a wind the year before, that two thousand men were killed by it in one night.

whereby they are soon drained of their moisture, that would otherwise dispose them to putrefaction.

I cannot but take notice of a surprising phenomenon, which has also been observed by other travellers, viz. that where the deserts are sandy and level, they appear at a little distance like a collection of water, which seems to advance as we do, keeping always before us, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, whilst the intermediate space appears all in a glow, occasioned by the trembling fluctuation of the vapours exhaled from the earth by the sun's powerful influence. It is also wonderful to observe, in what an extraordinary manner every object is magnified within this seeming collection of water; insomuch that a shrub appeared like a tall tree, and a sheep might be mistaken for a camel.

The Arabs, who are the only inhabitants of this country except the few Christians about Mount Sinai, are the descendants of Ishmael, of whom the angel foretold before he was born, that he would "be a
" wild man, and that his hand would be against every
" man, and every man's hand against him*." This is most literally true of his posterity even to this day, many of whom not only make it their business to attack and plunder strangers who are unarmed and defenceless, but are frequently at variance one with another, and keep up implacable and hereditary animosities among themselves. But this is not the character of the whole people: all along the sea-coast are the Misenides and Penuasi, who are remarkable for their civil behaviour. The Aiaidi, who live in the moun-

* Gen. xvi. 12.

tains South-East of Suez, deserve no commendation; the Soualli are worse, and the Wececadisaid are the worst of all. Those who live about Mount Sinai, and are chiefly maintained by the convent, are but indifferent sort of people; the best are those called Elecat.

There are but four or five villages, of which Tor is one, throughout all this country; the other names of places being given to mountains, vales, springs, and winter-torrents. So that the Arabs live in tents, continuing in one place as long as they have water, and shrubs for their camels to feed upon; and when they are spent, remove to another. All their riches consist in camels, a few goats, and sometimes sheep; but their common food is goat's milk and dates, their corn being brought from Cairo. They are divided into different nations or clans each under its great sheck, and every encampment under one of inferior authority. The several tribes are united together in a sort of league, and are very honest amongst themselves with regard to property. It is best for a traveller to be liberal to them, and give them something to eat; for they seldom do him any injury. Nor are they themselves churlish in this respect, but will invite others to eat with them as they pass by their encampments, and are always pleased to see strangers conform willingly to their customs. If they kill a sheep they eat it all at once, though perhaps they have nothing to live upon the day after. They are great lovers of venison, but camel's flesh they reckon one of their choicest dainties.

When the tribes are not at war with each other, nor at variance with the monks of Mount Sinai, one may travel in Arabia with tolerable safety, especially

under the protection of a sheck belonging to any of the clans who are in alliance. But the Arabs about Accabah, the ancient Elana, which lies on the North of the Elantic gulph, are most notorious robbers, being at enmity with all the rest of their countrymen. These are called Allauni, and infest the road which the caravan takes from Cairo to Mecca.

Whether the Arabs are naturally inclined to that roving life for which they have always been remarkable, or whether it is owing to the nature of their country, (the barrenness of it and the scarcity of water putting them under a necessity of making frequent removals) is not material to determine; but as they have lived in this manner for so many ages, it is undoubtedly as agreeable to them, as a more settled life is to the rest of mankind. They are of a middle stature, thin, and of a swarthy complexion, and black hair and black eyes are common to them with other people in the same climate. Their voices are rather effeminate than strong, but they are brave people, expert at the scymitar and lance, and, since they have been acquainted with fire-arms, are become pretty good marksmen. The habit of these Arabs is a kind of long blue shirt, tied about them with a sash or girdle. Some of them have drawers and a vest of furs or sheep-skins, putting the rough side towards their shirts to keep them warm, and turning it the contrary way when they would be cooler. They wear slippers, but no stockings; and have a cap or turbant on their heads. The women are very ill clothed, and cover their face in such a manner that nothing can be seen but their eyes, holes being left in the covering for that purpose.

The great shecks administer justice in their respective tribes, and have power to punish with fine or death, as the crime deserves; and when they have intestine wars, the shecks are their generals. The dignity is hereditary, descending from father to son; but if the sheck of a family die without male issue, all the family assemble, and make choice of one whom they think most deserving, requesting the great sheck to approve of their election. If a great sheck die without a son, a successor is elected by the whole tribe. The Turkish bashaws give the great shecks an allowance to keep their tribes in peace, and most of the caravans pay them certain dues, that they may pass without molestation.

The Arabs have constantly their spies abroad, to observe if the Turks have any design against them, that they may either defend themselves, or fly, as they see most convenient. If they chuse to retire, no army can pursue them without danger of being ruined for want of provisions, or overwhelmed with drifts of sand, besides being miserably harrassed by their flying parties amongst the mountains and narrow passes of the country. As to their religion, it may reasonably be presumed that many of these roving people know little or nothing of the matter, but in general they profess themselves followers of Mahomet.

The Red Sea, which washes the country we are treating of, is more properly termed the Arabian Gulf. The Hebrews called it Yam Suph, or the Weedy Sea, probably from the variety of algæ and fuci that grow within it, and are left in great quantities upon the shore at low water. By the ancient

inhabitants of the adjacent countries it was called the sea of Edom, which word signifying red, and being mistaken for an appellative, from thence it was named the Erythrean or Red Sea. Others, however, derive the name from a certain king of the East, in or near Persia, called Erythras, who they say invented the vessels wherein this sea was first navigated, and who was buried in one of its islands. Some again apprehend that the redness of its sands or waters, or the coral that is found at the bottom of it, was the occasion of its name, whilst others attribute it to the ruddy colour of the neighbouring mountains. There are indeed some red hills near it; but as to its sands or waters, they are like those of other seas, so far as we had an opportunity of observing. But waving the doubtful etymology of its name, it is certain that Erythrean or Red Sea of the ancients comprehended not only the narrow channel we now call so, but likewise the Persian Gulf, and all that sea which lies between Africa and the East Indies, generally termed the Indian ocean.

A very great trade was carried on through the Red Sea, as has been observed already, before the discovery of the way to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. Even so early as the time of Solomon, this commerce became famous; for that prince having, by the assistance of the Tyrian mariners and ship-builders sent him by his good friend king Hiram, fitted out a fleet at Ezion-geber, a port on the Red Sea. they traded from thence to Ophir and Tarshish, returning once in three years, and bringing home with them an immense quantity of gold and silver, besides several kinds of precious stones, spices,

ebony, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities*. The very first voyage they made, they brought back four hundred and fifty talents of gold, exclusive of silver and all other valuable commodities; which alone amounts to near two millions and a half of our money, reckoning the talent of gold equivalent to five thousand four hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. As it was by this means chiefly that Solomon came to surpass all the kings of the earth for riches†, it may be worth while to inquire a little into the situation of the places, to which this advantageous commerce was carried on; though I shall not dwell long upon a subject that is clogged with so much uncertainty.

Ophir has been sought for almost in every part of the world, and yet remains a *terra incognita*; though one would hardly believe the discovery to be so difficult, considering the various indices by which the scripture seems to point it out, such as these that follow. In the first place, by comparing several passages together it appears, that the same fleet went both to Ophir and Tarshish, and set out from Ezion-geber, a seaport near Eloth, in the land of Edom, upon the Red Sea. The voyage took up three years, and the cargo they brought home consisted of gold and silver, precious stones, spices, ivory, almug-woods, apes, and peacocks. It is farther observed, that Ophir not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but such as exceeded that of all other countries in fineness and value. Moses also speaks of Ophir the son

* 1 Kings ix. 26—28. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, and ix. 21.

† 1 Kings x. 23.

of Joktan, from whom we may suppose the country we are in search of took its name, who dwelt with his brethren from Mesha towards Sephar, a mountain of the East*. Add to this, that according to Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Eusebius, Urphe or Ophir, from whence this fine gold was brought, was an island in the Red Sea, taking that name in its extensive sense, as understood by the ancients. Lastly, Josephus says, that Ophir was in India, or was since called India, or the Land of Gold; which may probably mean the Aurea Chersonesus, now called the peninsula of Malacca, over-against Sumatra. All these hints one would imagine sufficient to have directed us, if not to the very spot of ground, at least to the region from whence Solomon drew such immense riches; and yet of all the learned authors who have employed their pens upon this subject, scarce any two are agreed in their opinions.

However, we shall not much wonder at this disagreement, if we consider, that several of the marks or directions above enumerated are so obscure and uncertain, that they are of little or no service in the present inquiry. Nay, even the most natural expedient, as it seems to be, of finding out Ophir and Tarshish by the commodities which Solomon's fleet is said to have brought from those places, is very insufficient for that purpose; it being no easy matter to assign the distinct species of some of the merchandises which the scriptures mentions. The almug-tree, for instance, has puzzled most interpreters; nor are they as yet agreed what is meant by it, whether

* Gen. x. 29, 30.

coral, ebony, brazil, pine, or citron-wood; nay, some will have it to be no particular tree at all, but only a general name for any wood whatever that is excellent in its kind: how then should commodities of such an indefinite signification assist us in discovering the situation of any country? Neither does Moses give us any light in this uncertainty, when he tells us that Ophir and the other sons of Joktan inhabited the country from Mesha to Sephar, a mountain in the East; for we know no more where Mesha and Sephar are to be placed, than we do the situation of Ophir and Tarshish.

Amongst the various conjectures of learned men upon this subject, I shall just mention some which seem to be entirely groundless, and then proceed to others that carry with them a greater degree of probability. Those who have sought for Ophir in America appear to me to have erred widely from the point, it being inconceivable how they could steer thither and back again so early as the days of Solomon, when they were destitute of charts and compass, were very imperfect in their geography and astronomy, and knew nothing of navigation but bare coasting. Others, who have gone no farther for Ophir than the coasts of Africa, seem likewise to be much mistaken; for though it be probable that several parts of Africa might abound with gold, spices, ivory, &c. or, according to some, that the Indians might bring them thither, yet the farthest coast of it was not distant enough from Ezion-geber to have taken up so much time as three years, though we should allow that they went to different ports for different parts of their cargo.

A late learned author, I mean father Calmet, has advanced a quite singular hypothesis. He imagines he has found out Ophir in Media or Armenia, about the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates; and to obviate the objection of the country's not bordering on the sea, and not being at distance enough for a three years voyage, he supposes (like those who place Ophir in Africa) that Solomon's fleet did not bring all its lading from any one port, but on the coast of Ethiopia took in apes, ebony, and parrots; in Arabia, ivory and spices; and gold at Ophir, or the place to which the people of Ophir resorted to carry on their traffic, their merchandise being brought, as he conjectures, partly by land-carriage, and partly by means of the above-mentioned rivers. But, with submission to this great man, all that he has said does not sufficiently account for the long absence of Solomon's fleet, even supposing the three years in the text to mean no more than three summers and two winters, or thirty months. Besides, one would think a nearer way might have been found to have carried on a commerce between Armenia and Judea, than by sailing all round Arabia into the Persian gulf, and there receiving the commodities brought down by the Tigris or Euphrates.

We may just take notice of an error into which Huetius has fallen in his dissertation on this subject, namely, his making a canal of communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, to have been opened in the time of David: but this has been fully confuted by several learned authors. Equally erroneous is the notion of those who place Eziongeber on the Mediterranean, which cannot be admit-

ted without doing manifest violence to the sacred text, because there is not one single instance in scripture of Yam Suph signifying any other than the Red Sea, on the coast whereof Eloth or Elath is likewise always placed near which Ezion-geber is said to have been situated*.

Those who have made their conjectures about the situation of Ophir with more probability, are such as follow Josephus in placing it in some part of the East-Indies. The learned Bochart contends hard for the isle of Ceylon, the ancient Taprobane, which lies in the kingdom of Malabar; because this place (he tells us) abounds with gold, precious stones, and ivory. Others plead for the kingdom of Siam, or that of Pegu, whose inhabitants (they say) pretend to be descended from the Jews sent thither by Solomon to work in the gold-mines of that country. There are others who place Ophir in some of the neighbouring islands or kingdoms beyond the Ganges, according as they think their productions answerable to those which are specified in sacred history: but it seems unnecessary to look for a country that produces all the different kinds of merchandise which Solomon's fleet brought to Ezion-geber, since they had time enough to fetch some from one place and some from another, or the various commodities might be brought by the merchants from several parts of India to some common Emporium.

Dean Prideaux observes, that it was the voyage to Tarshish which took up three years going and coming, from whence he conjectures, that Ophir

* 1 Kings ix. 26.

might be much nearer Judea, and the voyage have been performed in less time, if they had not been obliged to go to the former for some commodities which the latter did not afford; and, consequently, that any place in the great Indian sea, at the distance of a then three years voyage from Elath or Ezion-geber, which can best furnish us with gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, may probably be the Tarshish; and any other, though much nearer, where we can find abundance of gold, almug-trees, and precious stones, may be the Ophir of the holy scriptures. So that if the Southern part of Arabia produced the best gold in the greatest quantities, as the Dean tells us is attested by good authors*, then that might be the land of Ophir, the chief source of Solomon's riches.

To this hypothesis there seems to be one objection; for though it be granted that Tarshish and Ophir might be distinct places, and at a considerable distance from each other, yet if the latter had been so nigh to Judea as South Arabia, and had yielded such plenty of the finest gold, almug-trees, and precious stones, it is scarce credible that they would have

* The Dean quotes one of these authors, namely Agatharcides, who says, that the Allileans and Cassandrians in the Southern parts of Arabia had gold in that plenty amongst them, that they would give double the weight of it for iron, three times its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver; and that in digging the earth they found it in pure lumps which needed no refining, the least whereof were as big as olive-stones, and others much larger. And upon this Dr. Prideaux observes, that no author speaks of any other place in the world, where gold was ever found in the like plenty. Connection, &c. Vol. I. p. 14.

gone so much farther for a coarser sort of gold, much less for such inferior trifles as silver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks. It is more likely that they went farthest for the finest gold, precious stones, and things of the greatest value.

Upon the whole, though it is hard to determine which of the various opinions concerning the point in question approaches nearest to the truth, yet the most probable conjecture (and beyond that it is impossible to go in this matter) appears to be, that Ophir was in some of those rich countries of India beyond the Ganges, or perhaps as far as China or Japan; which last still abounds with the finest gold, and with several other commodities brought home by Solomon's fleet, as silver, precious stones, ebony, and other very valuable sorts of wood; besides spices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and such like curiosities; and to all this we may add, that its distance best answers to the long time that was spent in the voyage.

The history of the trade to Ophir is not so uncertain as the situation of the country. King David was the first who began it; for having made a conquest of Idumæa, whereby he became master of Elath and Ezion-geber, two port towns upon the Red Sea, and seeing how advantageously those places were situated for commerce, he there wisely set on foot a very profitable trade to Ophir, from whence he probably drew those three thousand talents of gold, which we read that he gave to the house of God*.

After the death of David, Solomon continued and very much improved this trade, going himself in

* 1 Chron. xxxix. 4.

person to Elath and Ezion-geber, when he ordered more ships to be built, the harbours to be repaired and fortified, and settled every thing that he thought might tend to the effectual carrying on of a traffic, not only to Ophir, but all other parts, to which the sea, whereon these ports lay, opened him a passage. His chief care was to fill these towns with such inhabitants as were best qualified to serve him in this design, and accordingly he brought thither as many sea-faring men as he could get from the coasts of Palestine, besides great numbers of Tyrians, with which he was furnished by king Hiram. In short, by his wise management and application, he soon drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Persia, India, and Arabia.

When the kingdom was divided, the kings of Judah, who kept possession of Idumæa, continued to carry on the trade to Ophir, chiefly from Ezion-geber, till the time of Jehoshaphat; who having fitted out a fleet in conjunction with Ahaziah king of Israel, it was unfortunately lost upon a ridge of rocks at the very mouth of the harbour*; which gave him such a dislike to the place, that from thenceforward he stationed his ships at Elath.

In the wicked reign of Jehoram, who succeeded his father Jehoshaphat, the Idumæans revolted, expelled his viceroy, and chose a king of their own, under whose conduct they recovered their ancient liberty, and with that the ports of Elath and Ezion-geber. The trade of these places, however, was interrupted till the time of Uzziah king of Judah, who

* 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron xx. 37.

having retaken Elath in the beginning of his reign, fortified it a-new, peopled it with his own subjects, and restored the old traffic to Ophir, which flourished till the reign of Ahaz.

When that prince sat on the throne, Rezin king of Damascus, assisted by Pekah king of Israel, took Elath by surprise, and having driven out the Jews that were settled there, put Syrians in their place†, purposing to carry on the trade to Ophir, from whence he was sensible that the kings of Judah had reaped very great advantages: but the next year Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, having invaded Damascus and conquered Rezin, took possession of Elath, and reserved the property of the trade to himself: so that the Jews never after enjoyed any share of it, which proved a great diminution of their wealth, and consequently of their power.

In what manner the Assyrians managed this traffic, or where they fixed their principal mart for it, while they had it in their hands, we are no where acquainted. Be that as it will, in process of time we find it wholly engrossed by the Tyrians, who carrying it on from the same port of Elath, by the way of Rhinocorura, a town of the confines of Egypt and Palestine, made it all centre at Tyre, and from thence furnished the Western parts of the world with the commodities of Persia, India, Africa, and Arabia; and this so long as the Persian empire subsisted, by whose princes they were favoured and protected. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt they built several ports on the Egyptian or Western side

† 2 Kings xvi. 6.

of the Red Sea, (for Elath and Ezion-geber lay on the Eastern) and, by sending fleets from thence to all these countries to which the Tyrians traded, they soon turned the channel of this commerce into their own kingdom, fixing the chief mart of it at Alexandria. In this state it continued for many ages, till a way was discovered, about two hundred and fifty years ago, of sailing to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; after which the trade to those parts was for some time managed chiefly by the Portuguese, but at present the English and Dutch enjoy far the greatest share of the Eastern commerce, in which that of Ophir (though now unknown) is probably included.

Before I leave the Red Sea, I cannot but say something of the miraculous passage of the Israelites through it, and the total overthrow of Pharaoh and his army, it being one of the most memorable events that either sacred or profane history hath recorded. In what particular part of the sea this passage was opened for the children of Israel, is not very easy to determine; but those seem to have the most probability on their side, who place it a few leagues to the South of Suez, where we find a long narrow valley between two rugged chains of mountains, which the Arabs to this day call the Road of the Israelites. In such a situation, Pharaoh might well say of them, "They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in;"* and when the Egyptians overtook them encamping before Baal-zephon, at the Eastern extremity of this valley, near

* Exodus xiv. 3.

the sea, what could the Israelites expect but inevitable destruction, having impassable mountains on the right and left, the sea before them, and Pharaoh cutting off all retreat behind them with his chariots and horseman? That this is the place where the Israelites were completely delivered from their slavery and even from the fear of their enemies, seems confirmed, not only by a tradition among the Arabs to that purpose, but by the name of the most Eastern part of the mountain next the sea, which to this day is called the Mountain of Deliverance.

Some have fixed the passage of the Israelites at Tor, and others at Corondel, but neither of these conjectures is well supported. All the way from Corondel to Tor the channel is about twelve leagues broad, which seems too great a space for the Israelites to traverse in one night, without adding considerably to the miracle: and besides, the shore, which is low and sandy till we come to Corondel, begins from thence to be rocky and mountainous, whilst the opposite coast of Egypt is still more inaccessible, especially to chariots, of which great part of Pharaoh's army consisted. From the valley above-mentioned, to the Arabian shore, the sea is about ten miles over, which part of the country is called the desert of Sdur, the same with the Shur of the scriptures†, where the Israelites are said to have landed; whereas had they crossed over at Corondel, they would have come into the desert of Marah. But after all, it must be granted that we can arrive at no certainty in this affair.

† Exodus xv. 22.

I proceed therefore to make a short inquiry into the most material point relating to this event, namely, whether it was miraculous or not; that is, whether the sea was really divided by a supernatural power, or whether Moses and the Israelites did only coast some part of it, or, at most, cross a small nook at low-water, timing it so well, that Pharaoh and his host, endeavouring to do the like, perished in the attempt. This is so far from being a new question, that Artaphanes, an ancient writer quoted by Eusebius, assures us that both these opinions were held by the Egyptian priests; the former by those of Heliopolis, and the latter by those of Memphis. The last of these has also been followed by many eminent men, both Jews and Christians, who, without denying the main part of the transaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the Israelites not passing through the sea, but only coasting it along, and making as it were a semicircle round the shore at low ebb, or crossing some narrow point of it when the water was retired. This opinion cannot be maintained without a manifest deviation from the express words of Moses, and several other passages in holy writ where the event is mentioned; from reason and experience, founded upon the knowledge of the ebbing and flowing of the Red Sea; from the known character of Moses as an historian; and lastly, from a very great majority of authors of all ages and religions, who have asserted and proved the contrary.

In the first place, nothing is plainer than the whole tenor of Moses' account is directly opposite to such a notion; for he tells us, that "upon his stretching out his rod by God's command over the wa-

“ ters, a mighty wind arose and divided them; that
 “ they stood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the
 “ right and on the left; that the bottom of the sea
 “ was dried up, and that the Israelites marched
 “ through it as on dry land*”; with other expressions of the like nature. The royal Psalmist speaks of “ God’s dividing the Red Sea into parts, and making Israel pass through the midst of it†”; and the prophet Isaiah says, that “ God led them by the right hand of Moses, dividing the waters before them, to make himself an everlasting name; and that he led them through the deep as an horse in the wilderness‡”. To these might be added many more expressions of the same kind; and is it not highly unreasonable to imagine, that such language as this was designed to represent a transaction wherein there was nothing wonderful, or contrary to the usual course of nature? In a word, the scriptures describe this passage of the Israelites, with all its circumstances, as altogether miraculous; and we must either reject their authority, or allow that something more is meant in the texts above cited than a bare coasting along some part of the Red Sea, or crossing a narrow corner, left dry by the ebbing of the waters.

We may justly wonder at Josephus’s comparing the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea with Alexander’s coasting along the sea of Pamphylia in his expedition against the Persians, between which there is so manifest a disparity. According to Arrian, and others, Alexander was to march from Phaselis, a

* Exodus xiv. xv. and many other places.

† Psalm cxxxvi. 13, 14.

‡ Isaiah lxiii. 12, 13.

sea port, to Perga, an inland city of Pamphylia; and the country near Phaselis being mountainous and rocky, he could not well find a passage for his army, without taking a great compass round the mountains, or venturing to go over the strand, between the rocks and the sea. It was impossible to do this, as the historian remarks, except under favour of a North wind; and therefore Alexander, when he was at Phaselis, observing the wind to blow from that quarter, laid hold of the opportunity, and marched himself with part of his army along the shore, having sent the rest over the mountains*. Now what is there miraculous in all this, or that can be compared with the passage

* Strabo relates the matter thus:—"About Phaselis there are
"straits towards the sea, through which Alexander passed his
"army. There is also a mountain called Climax, which lies to
"the Pamphylian sea, leaving a narrow passage on the shore,
"which is quite bare in good weather, but when the waves arise,
"it is for the most part covered. Now the road by the mountains
"is round about, and difficult; and therefore, in calm weather,
"they go by the shore: but Alexander coming thither in stormy
"weather, and trusting to his fortune, would go over before the
"waves were abated; which made the soldiers go all day up to
"the middle in water." The account given us by Plutarch is
much to the same purpose. "The march through Pamphylia
"(says he) has been the subject to many historians of mighty
"wonder and declamation, as if the sea, by order of the gods,
"gave place to Alexander, being almost always rough there, and
"very rarely opening a smooth passage under those broken rocks.
"But Alexander himself speaks of no miracle, but only says
"that he passed by Climax as he came from Phaselis." Josephus therefore is much in the wrong, when he talks of the Pamphylian seas dividing for the passage of the Macedonian army; the fact being quite otherwise, as appears from the above-mentioned historians.

of the Israelites, who crossed a sea where no historian makes mention of any persons that ever found a way before or since? Whereas Alexander only marched upon the shore of the sea of Pamphylia, where the several historians, who most magnify the divine providence in protecting him, do freely allow that any one may walk when the tide retreats, and the same wind blows that favoured that monarch.

Our next business is to show, that the notion of Moses' leading the Israelites along the sea-shore, or cross some narrow point, is contrary to reason and experience. We readily grant, indeed, that the Red Sea ebbs and flows like other seas which have a communication with the ocean; but then we are told by those who have made the exactest observations, that the greatest distance to which it falls from the place of high water is not above three hundred yards; and that these three hundred yards which the sea leaves uncovered during the time of low-water, cannot continue so above half an hour at most, because the sea begins to flow again towards the shore, from whence it had gradually retreated for six hours before: so that, upon a moderate computation, the greatest extent of time and passable ground that can be allowed the Israelites for their march, upon the coast, is about two hundred yards during six hours, and a hundred and fifty during eight. Now it is plain, that a multitude consisting of upwards of two millions of men, women, and children, encumbered likewise with great quantities of cattle and household-stuff, could never be able to perform such a march within so short a time, or even double that space, though we should allow them also double the

breadth of ground for that purpose. This argument will be of equal weight against those who think that the Israelites only coasted along some part of the sea, and those who maintain that they crossed a small arm or point of it; seeing that, in either of these cases, six or eight hours could not have been sufficient for the passage of so vast a multitude.

The advocates for either of the last-mentioned hypothesis would persuade us, that Moses had made such just observations upon the flux and reflux of the sea, that he conducted the Israelites with safety along the strand at the time of ebb; while Pharaoh and his army, attempting to do the same, were overwhelmed by the sudden flowing in of the tide, which happened sooner than they had mistakenly computed. But how unreasonable is it to suppose that Moses was the only person who understood the course of the tide, and that in all the great army of Pharaoh there was not one man of equal knowledge! The Egyptians were at that time famous for their observations of the celestial bodies, and therefore it is utterly improbable that they should be ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, even in their own country, on their own coasts, and in their own trading ports and havens.

Some perhaps may wonder, that the Egyptians, when they saw such a miraculous passage open for the Israelites, should venture to pursue them; but the reason of this seems to be intimated by the sacred historian, when he tell us, that “the angel of
“ God, which went before the camp of Israel, re-
“ moved and went behind them; and the pillar of the
“ cloud came between the camp of the Egyptians and

“ the camp of Israel, and was a cloud and darkness
“ to the one, but gave light by night to the other:” *
so that probably, when the Egyptians followed the
Israelites into the midst of the sea, they knew not
where they were, till it was too late to retreat.
They imagined, perhaps, that they were still upon
the shore, from whence the water had retired; the
darkness of the night, and the preter-natural dark-
ness of the cloud, not suffering them to see the
mountains of water, till “ the Lord looked upon
“ them through the pillar of fire,” i. e. turned the
bright side of the cloud towards them, and thereby
made them sensible of their danger, at which time,
had it been in their power, they would have fled
from the face of Israel†.

In the next place, to suppose there was nothing
miraculous in the passage of the Israelites through
the Red Sea, is a notion repugnant to the known
character of Moses, as a grave historian, and calls in
question not only his avowed modesty and veracity,
but even his sense, conduct, and experience. For
it is evident, that Moses represents the whole affair
as wonderfully carried on from the beginning to the
end by God himself, who knew what passed in E-
gypt, and made his people unexpectedly take a new
rout, which brought them into a situation so appar-
ently dangerous. It was then, as he assures us, that
God interposed his miraculous power, on their behalf,
and divided the sea to make a free passage for them,
and to overwhelm their enemies. And accordingly
we find him making all Israel sound the praises of

* Exodus xiv. 19, 20.

† Exodus xiv. 24, 25.

God, as the sole author of their deliverance, which he would hardly have done, had it been entirely owing to his own policy, or his superior knowledge of natural causes. On the other hand if Moses did not act in this affair by divine direction, what idea must we frame of his conduct and experience, who could be guilty of such an oversight as to lead the Israelites into the mouth of the extremest danger? And again, if their deliverance from their enemies at the Red Sea had nothing in it beyond the ordinary course of nature, by what artifice could Moses possibly persuade above two millions of persons that God had wrought a stupendous miracle in their favour, when they could not but know as well as he, that no such thing had been transacted? If he had once endeavoured to foist a fable of this nature upon such a contumacious and not over-credulous set of people as the Israelites were, he would have made himself ridiculous, and exposed his authority to contempt.

Among those who acknowledge a divine power to have interposed in this memorable transaction, some have endeavoured to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compass; whilst others, setting no bounds to their zeal, have added fond conceits of their own, and multiplied it in an unnecessary manner. Of the former sort are those who attribute the dividing of the sea, and the standing up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as fast as it blew them up; after which being thawed by a warmer one, they naturally returned to their former station. This opinion seems to be chiefly grounded on a figurative expression in the song of Moses, which our translators have rendered, "the depths were congeal-

“ed in the heart of the sea;”* and many of the moderns have espoused this sentiment. A Jewish rabbin has conjectured, that the sea was not divided at all, but frozen hard enough for the Israelites to pass over it, though it thawed and swallowed up the Egyptians. On the other hand, Origen endeavours to magnify this miracle, having recourse to an ancient Jewish tradition, which says, that God opened twelve different passages through the sea, according to the number of the tribes of the Israelites, that each tribe might march separately; and in this he is followed by several ancient and modern writers. This tradition perhaps took its rise from the above-cited expression of the Psalmist, that God divided the Red Sea into parts; but such ill-grounded fancies scarce deserve to be mentioned, much less those of some others, who imagine that God removed the rocks, rooted up the plants that grew at the bottom of the sea, levelled all uneven places, and made as it were a hard beaten road, in order to facilitate the passage of the Israelites.

It is now time to leave this subject, and think of returning from Mount Sinai to Egypt. Before our departure, the good fathers invited us to the great church, where a certain form of prayers was said or chanted for our safe journey; after which we supped with the superior in his chamber, to whom, as usual, we made a present in money, and also to the convent in general, receiving in return some natural curiosities, the productions of the Red Sea or the neighbouring mountains. The superior and several

* Exod. xv. 8.

of the monks attended us to the window, where we took leave of them, were let down, and began our journey towards Suez.

Without mentioning the several stages we made in this journey, the wells and trees we met with, and such like particulars, it may suffice to say, that we did not return by the way of Tor, but took a nearer and better road through the desert of Paran, having the Red Sea at a great distance on our left, till we came again into our former road at Corondel, which we kept till our arrival at Suez. We staid two or three days in this town, in order to take the benefit of a caravan which was going from thence to Cairo; it being much pleasanter, as well as safer to travel with a large company. We set out early in the morning, and rested several hours in the middle of the day; after which we passed by a tree covered all over with rags, which the Mahometan pilgrims throw on it out of some superstition; this place, being the first stage of the caravan for Mecca, after they leave their encampment at the lake near Cairo. Having travelled till two in the morning, we took a few hours repose, and set forward again about sun-rise; and thus pursuing our journey, with small intervals of rest, we arrived at Cairo three days after our departure from Suez, excessively fatigued and disordered.

Being pretty well recovered from an indisposition, into which the journey to mount Sinai had thrown me, I had thoughts of returning immediately to England, but was persuaded by some friends at Cairo to make a longer stay, till my health was thoroughly re-established; and to this I agreed the more readily, as the winter months were now approaching, the

most pleasant and healthful season of the year in Egypt, as has been observed already. During this time I had leisure enough to make some additions to my former observations on this country, which will bring our travels to a conclusion.

As to the government of Egypt, it is in the hands of a bashaw or viceroy from Constantinople, who having in reality very little power, his business seems chiefly to consist in communicating the orders of the Grand Signior to his divan of beys, and the several inferior councils, and to see that they are executed by proper officers. These orders are generally such as are agreeable to the people; for the porte being sensible of their military strength, and afraid of exasperating them to a rebellion, seldom attempts any innovations that are contrary to their interest or inclination. In order for the bashaw to execute his office properly, he must keep as good an interest as possible with the persons in power, especially with any one who happens to be in the greatest credit with the people, and with the leading men of the military bodies, to the end that he may be apprised of their designs. If he finds them prejudicial to the porte, he endeavours to foment divisions among them, or, if that cannot be effected, to make the best party he is able. It is the business of the bashaw to think of the properest means to cut off those who are too aspiring, though such a step will certainly end in his own removal; about which however he need not be very solicitous, as his person is always held sacred, and he is usually advanced to a more profitable employment.

The bashaw has a sort of deputy, who is a bey by

his office for the time being, and generally holds the divan; his master, like the Grand Signior, sitting behind a lattice at the end of the hall, and rarely assisting himself, unless upon extraordinary occasions. One of the great officers who always attends the bashaw when he goes abroad is the Dragoman Aga, who is not only an interpreter, but particularly acts as master of the ceremonies. He has also, as well as the Grand Signior, his chaouses, bestangis, and other officers; and a guard of Tartarian horse, on whom he would chiefly depend in case of danger, and in sending his dispatches.

If the bashaw farm the country of the Grand Signior, the fines belong to him that are paid when any life drops on the lands; for anciently all the lands of Egypt belonged to the Grand Signior, and the porte at this time looks upon them as her own: but the Turkish emperors having lost much of their power in this country, they now go to the next heir, who must be invested by the bashaw, and he is glad to compound for a small sum with regard to the value of the lands.

The better to understand the constitution of Egypt, we must observe, that it is divided into various provinces, governed either by sangiacs, called also beys, or by cashifs. Those that are under the former are called sangialics; but where any are dependent on a sangiac, and are governed by a cashif, one that is not a bey, they are named cashiflics. Many of the provinces of Upper Egypt are now swallowed up by the Arab shecks, the country on the East side of the Nile being mostly in their possession. These petty princes, or heads of tribes, are succeeded by their

sons; but they must be confirmed by the bashaw, who on that account draws from them considerable sums of money, especially when the children of the deceased sheik carry on intrigues to supplant one another. To keep these Arabs in awe, and to collect the tribute due from them, and from the cashiflics in Upper Egypt, a bey or sangiac resides at Girge, almost in as much state as a bashaw, having his officers, his divan, and detachments from the military bodies for his protection. He usually continues in his government three years, though he is annually nominated by the divan at Cairo.

The emir hadge, or the prince who conducts the pilgrims to Mecca, is elected every year at Constantinople, but generally continues two years in his office, to make him amends for the great expence he is at the first year for his equipage: but according to his capacity and interest at the porte he sometimes enjoys his post six or seven years, in which last case he has a collar of gold presented to him by the Grand Signior. The perquisites of his office, besides what is allowed him by the porte, are a tenth of the effects of all pilgrims who die in the journey. If this officer behaves himself well, he gains the general esteem and affection of the people; and it is said his person is accounted sacred.

The Tefterdar, or Lord High Treasurer of the tribute paid out of the lands to the Grand Signior, is commonly continued in his office for many years, though likewise annually nominated. This post is reckoned very honourable, though it is sometimes given to one of the poorest beys, to enable him to

support his dignity, and frequently to a bey of a peaceable disposition, and not given to intrigues.

In every great village there is a caimacan, a sort of governor under the cashif, and who perhaps has ten or a dozen small villages within his jurisdiction, each of which has a sheck-bellet, either a native Egyptian or an Arab. These caimacans, as well as the cashif have enough to do, to manage with the Arab shecks, who in many places have the real power, and the cashif is obliged to make some leading sheck his friend by presents and address, in order to maintain his authority. On the twenty-ninth day of August, which is the first of the Coptic year, all annual officers are appointed by the divan.

The military bodies in Egypt, especially the foot, which are the Janizaries and Azabs, have a considerable share in the government; but the five bodies of horse have no great influence. The former are looked upon as the protectors of the people, who are most of them incorporated into one or other of those bodies; and their Waught Caia judges all things relating to those under their protection. If a person apprehends he is wronged by one body, he flies to the protection of the other, and becomes a member of it, which has occasioned frequent broils between them. Thus they have rendered themselves independent even of the bashaw himself, in whose divan they have always a representative, to oppose any thing as occasion requires; and when any orders are sent to the little divans, if they do not like them, they return them unexecuted. Nay, they have usurped a power of deposing the bashaw, and the

beys appoint a governor in his room, till another is sent to Cairo by the Grand Signior.

Cairo is under the guard of the Janizaries, and the Azabs have the charge of the country round the city. In the night-time especially, an officer called the Walla patrols about the streets of Cairo, who takes up all disorderly persons, or such as cannot give an account of themselves, and sometimes causes their heads to be cut off upon the spot, if they are not under the protection of the Janizaries, or some of the military bodies. But though this officer is such a terror to rogues, it is only to those who are too poor to make him a present, without which he shows no mercy.

Justice is administered in Egypt almost in the same manner as in other parts of the Turkish dominions, so that I shall not tire the reader with much upon that subject. A Cadileskier, like a Lord High Chancellor, is sent yearly from Constantinople to Grand Cairo, to whom an appeal lies from the sentence of the Cadis, or inferior judges; and many causes of importance are brought immediately before him. The court sits at the house of his deputy, who is called Nakib. In different parts of Cairo they have eight Cadis, who are sent from thence to most other towns by the Cadileskier; but those who administer justice at Alexandria, Rosetto, Damiata, and Gize, are annually sent from Constantinople.

With regard to the religion of the Egyptians, as the country is a part of the Turkish empire, Mahometanism may be looked upon as established by authority: but it seems necessary to say something of the Coptis, who are Christians, and undoubtedly the ancient natives of Egypt. St. Mark is said to have first

preached the gospel in this country, and is reckoned the first patriarch of Alexandria. During the times of persecution, many of the Christians of Egypt retired to Coptos, once a famous city of the Thebaid; from whence they are commonly supposed to have been called Coptis, Cophtis, or Cophts; but the critics are extremely divided about the etymology as well as the orthography of the name. The remained in union with the catholic church till the time of their patriarch Dioscorus, who embraced in some measure the opinion of Eutyches; which being condemned by the fourth council held at Chalcedon, and several emperors endeavouring to suppress it, the Coptis were treated with great severity. Ever since that time they retain an implacable hatred towards the Greeks; and they have almost the same aversion to all Franks or Europeans, which proceeds chiefly from the endeavours of the church of Rome to make them converts. Those who were on the orthodox side of the question, and submitted to the decisions of the council, were called Melchites, or Royalists, as being countenanced and supported by the government at Constantinople.

When the Mahometans attempted the conquest of Egypt, they took part with the Coptis, who were glad to see the Greeks destroyed, and had a hand, it is said, in cutting several of them off; by which means they ingratiated themselves with the conquerors, and their patriarch was established as he is at present, by the ruling powers. Those of the Greek communion, who remained here in opposition to the Western church; have also their patriarch to this day.

The ceremonies of the Coptic church are something like those of the Greeks; but the Coptis seem to be the most irreverent and careless in their devotions of all the Eastern Christians. Both priests and people are exceedingly ignorant, insomuch that many of the former cannot read their liturgies, but get their long offices by rote, by hearing them frequently repeated. Their liturgies are in the ancient Coptic language, which is undoubtedly the Egyptian, though much corrupted, especially by a mixture of Greek, that was introduced among them during the time of the Ptolemies*. The Coptic is now a dead language, the Arabic having taken its place throughout all Egypt; nor is it understood by the Coptis, not even their priests, to any degree of perfection; many of whom are not able to read it, as I have just observed.

In their divine service they read the epistles and

* Notwithstanding the Coptic language has been thus corrupted, it still bears evident marks of primitive antiquity in its structure, wherein it differs so widely from all the Oriental and European languages, that it is impossible to conceive it derived from any of them; for the Coptis neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs, (not even those of foreign extracts) otherwise than by prefixing particles, sometimes of one, sometimes of more syllables, and sometimes of a single letter, which denote the case, gender, number, and person; several of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word usually placed last. So that the difficulty of this tongue consists in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in transposing the middle part of the word and adding of servile letters; to distinguish all which requires great skill and labour. Universal History, vol. 1. p. 226.

gospels twice, once in Coptic, and once in Arabic. They use the liturgies of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Cyril; but most commonly the first, as being the shortest. They administer the sacrament on Sundays and holidays, of which last they have a great number; and also on Wednesdays and Fridays, and every day in Lent. Their manner of baptizing is by plunging the child three times into the water, after which they confirm it, and the priest dipping his finger in consecrated wine puts it to the child's mouth, this ceremony being generally performed after the celebration of the eucharist. A boy is not baptized till forty days after his birth, nor a girl till twenty-four; the mother, who must assist at the baptism, being obliged to stay at home so long after her delivery. If the child be sick it is brought to church, (for baptism at home is not allowed of) and laid on a cloth near the font, into which the priest dips his hands, and rubs it all over: but if the child be so ill that it cannot be brought, they anoint it at home, instead of baptizing it, having a particular form for that purpose. They give absolution at extreme unction, and anoint all the people present, to keep evil spirits from entering into them. They pray for the dead, and yet they have a notion that in forty days the soul goes to heaven. In their veneration for their pictures of saints they imitate the Greeks; but they have no statues, except a crucifix. They strictly abstain from blood, and from things strangled.

It is remarkable, that the Coptics circumcise their children when they are about ten years old; but if I am rightly informed, they do not do it on a religious

account. At eight or nine years of age they make deacons, who always receive the sacrament when it is administered. They observe several fasts, as well as the Christians of the Greek communion; in some of which they not only abstain from flesh, (whereof they eat very little at any time) but from eggs, milk, butter, oil, &c. and chiefly upon vegetables. At seven or eight years of age their children are frequently espoused, and the marriage consummated at eleven or twelve. The husband may easily procure a divorce, either on account of adultery, long sickness, or almost any disagreement, and obtain leave from the patriarch to marry again. But if such license be refused, and their own clergy will not marry the divorced to another, the parties sometimes have recourse to the *cadi*, who makes no scruple to do it; and this is practised by the Christians in all parts of the Turkish dominions.

The trade of Egypt, especially that of Cairo, is very considerable, though not so great as it was before the discovery of a way to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. At present, several sorts of Indian goods are dearer in Egypt than they are in England, being brought great part of the way by land. The exportation of coffee and rice, except it be to other parts of the Turkish empire, is prohibited; and yet it is often connived at, when presents are made to proper persons. Flax is exported to Leghorn, and all over Turkey; and their cottons are sent chiefly to Marseilles. Many Indian drugs, and some of the growth of Egypt, are sent from thence to different parts of Europe. Great quantities of linen-cloth are likewise exported to France, Italy, Algiers, and all

over the Ottoman dominions. Italian silks, and English, French, and Venetian cloth is imported into Egypt; also English tin, and many sorts of small wares from France, Venice, and Constantinople. From the last-mentioned city they are supplied with furs, and all sorts of copper vessels and plate, which are tinned over, and are very much in use. Their iron they bring from Salonica, the exportation whereof out of Turkey is strictly prohibited. From Asia Minor they have carpets, raw silks from Syria, and many things of the woollen manufacture from Barbary.

The manufactures of Egypt are mostly consumed in the country, except the linens above-mentioned. Those of the woollen kind are scarce any thing but un-napped carpets, used to cover their seats or sofas. The raw silk they import is worked up in large handkerchiefs for women's veils; and they also make a rich sort, which are wrought with gold and flowers of several colours, used by the ladies to throw over the presents they send to one another; and sometimes to cover cushions and things of that nature. Great variety of satinets and taffetas are manufactured in Cairo, in imitation of those of India, but the best are but indifferent. At Rosetto they make abundance of stripped linens, used chiefly about beds, as a defence against gnats in the night-time. A coarse strong linen, used for sheets, is made at Cairo and in the adjacent villages; but the very best that the country affords is manufactured about Damietta.

Not only in Cairo, but most parts of Egypt, the curious mechanical arts are generally in the hands of the Christians. Jewellers, silver smiths, and such

artificers, have full employment here, in making the several ornaments worn by the women, and about the trappings of their horses. One reason why the women in Egypt, and other parts of the Turkish dominions, endeavour to make their apparel as rich and valuable as possible, is, because upon the death of the husband, if there are any children, the law allows the widow nothing more than her clothes, jewels, and other equipage, unless particular donations have been made her; insomuch that they are frequently sold to maintain the poor woman after her husband's decease. The Egyptian pebbles, used for the handles of knives, snuff-boxes, and other toys, are wrought and polished at Cairo in great perfection. The turners make wooden lattices for windows in a very curious and beautiful manner; and they have some both of iron and brass, of extraordinary workmanship, which are placed before the windows of their mosques. But upon the whole, the preference is given to the artificers of Constantinople, and whatever comes from that capital is much esteemed in Egypt.

I have already said so much of the manners and customs of the Turks, that it would be needless to add any thing here upon that subject; but it may not be amiss to mention a few particulars relating to the Arabs and Mahometan natives of the country. It is almost a general custom amongst them to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in summer a blue and white cotton sheet, which is also used by the Christians. Putting one corner of it over the left shoulder, they bring it behind, and under the right arm, which is left bare and at liberty for action.

Inferior people, instead of the turbant, wear a red woollen cap, which comes close to the head. The dress of the Egyptian women has something in it very odd and disagreeable, being a large garment of blue linen or cotton, like a surplice; and before their faces and breast hangs a sort of bib, which is joined to their head-dress by a tape that goes across the nose just below the eyes, for which holes are left to look through. People of better fashion, who wear this garment of silk, have a large black veil, and cover their faces with guaze; or if they leave any part of them exposed to view, they generally cover the mouth and one eye, to shew the whole face being reckoned a great indecency. Some ladies wear over the upper part of their faces a covering made of black horse-hair, which is so contrived, that they can see others without being seen distinctly themselves.

There are women who go about the streets with their faces bare, dancing, singing, and playing on some instrument; and yet these are not reckoned of the lewdest sort neither, for there are common strumpets, who are in a manner licensed, and pay a tribute for the liberty of following their profession. On account of a prophecy they have, that Cairo will be taken by a woman on horseback, the women are not permitted to ride on horses; but it is common enough to see them on asses in the streets of Cairo; and they use stirrups, which it is reckoned dishonourable for a man to do when he mounts that animal.

The Egyptians are frugal in their manner of living, seldom eating any meat, nor do they often drink strong liquors, though the Turks have introduced

the use of them instead of laudanum, which was formerly more in vogue amongst them than it is at present. The lowest sort of people make a kind of beer of barley without being malted, and put something into it to make it intoxicate; but though they make it ferment, it is thick and grows sour in a few days. The Coptics in particular, and the middling people among the Arabs, live very poorly; but such of the Arabs as have ability are remarkable for their generosity and hospitality, by which they maintain much of their interest. Even one of their chiefs or princes will dine before his door, and invite all that pass to come and partake with him, the very beggars not excepted. If any one goes to an Arab's house or tent, bread is immediately made, (which is done as often as they eat) and the guest is served with sour milk and cucumbers in it, fried eggs and oil to dip the bread in, salt cheese like curds, and such-like entertainment. It is a sort of an affront not to stay and eat; and they reckon it a great favour to come to their houses, and put yourself, as it were, under their protection. Whoever visits another, and eats with him, if there has been any quarrel or animosity between them, all is immediately forgotten; but if the visitor refuses to partake of the coffee, or whatever is offered him, it shows a continuance of his resentment.

I cannot help mentioning a strange superstition which prevails among the Mahometans in Egypt, especially the Arabs, who have a great veneration for fools and mad people, esteeming them as saints, kissing their hands, and showing them the greatest regard. Of this sort of saints there are some women, but most of them are men, and perhaps more hypo-

erites than fools, who affect ridiculous dresses, and have the impudence to enter the houses of persons of the greatest distinction, sit down to dinner whether invited or not, and depart without any ceremony; and it is looked upon as a blessing to receive a visit from these people. But what is most abominable is, that some of them go about the streets entirely naked, and are guilty of many other indecencies.

Before I leave Egypt, the method I have hitherto observed requires me to take a short view of the history of this country. The Egyptians are undoubtedly a very ancient nation, but being ignorant of their true descent, they have laid claim to an extravagant antiquity, and have given us a catalogue of their princes, some of whom, if our account of time be right, must have lived several thousand years before the creation. The country was called Chemia by its ancient inhabitants, and is supposed to have taken its name from Cham or Ham the son of Noah, being more than once styled in the book of Psalms the land of Ham. However, it is generally denoted in scripture by the name of the Land of Misraim, from whence the Arabians and Orientals still call it Mesr, which the Greeks write Mesre and Mestræa. If therefore Ham himself did not make any settlement in this country, there is no doubt but Misraim peopled it with his own issue; and he is supposed by several to be the same that is called Menes in profane history, who is universally allowed to have been the first king of Egypt.

It would be a vain attempt, and utterly inconsistent with my present design, to endeavour to adjust the

Egyptian chronology, and reconcile the vast disagreement that we find among the several writers who have given us a series of the Egyptian princes from the most early times. After all the labours of the learned upon this subject, we are still left in uncertainty and confusion; it may therefore be sufficient for our purpose to observe, that if we allow Menes to be the same with Misraim the son of Ham, we shall fix the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy about the year of the world 1816, or 2188 years before our Saviour. From this time Egypt was governed by a long succession of kings, of whom we have very imperfect and contradictory accounts, and most of them are transmitted, to us only by their names.

The obscurity of the Egyptian history and chronology begins to clear up a little about six hundred and seventy years before the Christian æra, I mean in the reign of Psammitichus, who was succeeded by his son Nechus, the Pharaoh Necho of the scriptures. In the next century, (i. e. in the year before Christ 525.) Psammenitus being then upon the throne, Cambyzes king of Persia made an entire conquest of Egypt, and united it to the Persian empire. The Egyptians continued under this subjection, though not without some attempts to regain their liberty, till the reign of Darius Nothus, when being headed by Amyrtæus they drove the Persians out of the country, and advanced their deliverer to the throne. The kingdom for some time maintained its independency, but was again reduced by Ochus king of Persia, and remained subject to that monarchy till Dar-

ius Nothus, when being headed by Amyrtæus they drove the Persians out of the country, and advanced their deliverer to the throne. The kingdom for some time maintained its independency, but was again reduced by Ochus king of Persia, and remained subject to that monarchy till Darius Codomanus was defeated by Alexander the Great, when it fell under the power of that prince, with the rest of the provinces of the Persian empire.

After the death of Alexander, Ptolemy the son of Lagus found means to ascend the throne of Egypt, and once again render it an independent kingdom. The king's successors all bore the name of Ptolemy, and in this line it continued for about three hundred years, the last sovereign being the famous Cleopatra, after whose death the country became a Roman province. Upon the division of the empire, Egypt fell to the lot of the Eastern emperors, to whom it continued subject till the reign of Heraclius, when it was taken from them by the Saracens or Arabians, and was governed by caliphs of Babylon; but at length the Egyptians set up a caliph of their own, called the caliph of Cairo, to whom the Saracens of Africa and Spain were subject.

About the year 1160, Asareddin, or Sarracon, general of Norradin the Saracen sultan of Damascus, subdued the kingdom of Egypt, in which he was succeeded by the victorious Saladin, who also reduced Damascus, Mesopotamia and Palestine under his power. Some say that this prince established a body of troops in Egypt like the present Janizaries, composed of the sons of Christians taken in war, or purchased of the Tartars, to whom he gave the name of Mama-

lukes, or slaves, for that is the meaning of the word; but others give a different account of their original. Be that as it will, these Mamalukes about the middle of the thirteenth century deposed the posterity of Saladin, and usurped the government.

The first king or sultan of the Mamaluke race was Turquemenius, whose successors were engaged in continual wars against the Christians of Syria and Palestine, till they had entirely deprived them of their possessions in those countries. The Mamaluke government was elective, and no son could succeed his father in the throne. History reckons up sixteen of these princes; the last of whom, Tonombeius the Second, was conquered and put to death by the Turkish emperor Selim about the year 1517, and, as some say, hanged up at one of the gates of Cairo. GAZELLE, a grandee of the Mamalukes, maintained a war for some time against Selim, but was at length defeated, and Egypt made a province of the Ottoman empire, as it still remains.

Having recovered my former state of health, and the necessary preparations being made for our return to England, on the 20th of January 1734-5, we departed from Cairo, and took boat for Rosetto. After four days pleasant sailing down the Canopic branch of the Nile, without any thing remarkable occurring, we arrived at that city, which stands a few miles from the sea, on the West side of the river. This town is called Raschid by the Egyptians, who reckon it one of the most pleasant places in Egypt; and indeed the fruitful country of Delta on the other side of the Nile, and two beautiful islands a little below the town, make the prospect very delightful; to say

nothing of the fine gardens and groves of palm-trees, with which its neighbourhood is improved. It is about two miles in length, and is a place of brisk trade, having a great linen manufactory; and all European merchandise is brought hither by sea from Alexandria, and put into other boats to be carried to Cairo, as goods brought from Cairo are here put into large boats to be sent to Alexandria. The trade of Europe with the city of Cairo being thus carried on through this channel, it keeps great numbers of hands employed, and the Europeans have their vice-consuls and factors here to transact their business. The town is well supplied with provisions, and the water is good, except when the North wind blows very strong, or the Nile is at the lowest, for then it is a little brackish.

After a short stay at Rosetto we set out for Alexandria, travelling Westward over a sandy plain, where they have erected pillars at proper distances to show the way, which it would otherwise be difficult to find. Having crossed this desert, we came to a ferry called Madea, where there is a kane for the reception of travellers. The passage is over the outlet of a lake, which was probably the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile; and hereabouts we may suppose stood the ancient Heraclium. We took our repose at the kane, and crossing the water in the morning, we continued our journey in the same Westerly direction, leaving Bikeer or Bikiere about a league to our right, where the city of Canopus is supposed to have been situated.

In a few hours we arrived at Alexandria, or Scandarea, as it is now called, a once famous and flourish-

ing city, built by Alexander the Great when he went to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The old city is entirely ruined, but the ancient walls, which are beautifully built of hewn stone, are most of them standing, with turrets at convenient distances. The new city is built on the strand to the North, without the walls; and though upon the whole it makes but a mean appearance, we find in it a great variety of pillars, mostly granite, and many fragments of columns of beautiful marble, all tokens of the grandeur and magnificence of the ancient city, from the ruins whereof they were taken. The cisterns, which were built under the houses of Alexandria to receive the waters of the Nile brought by a canal from the Canopic branch, are many of them entire, and still serve for the same purpose. The pillar, commonly called Pompey's pillar, is a fine piece of antiquity, which is still standing on a little eminence, about a quarter of a mile to the South of the old walls; but upon what occasion it was erected is uncertain. It is of red granite, about a hundred and fourteen feet high, with a Corinthian capital, the leaves whereof are not at all indented. The shaft, which is nine feet in diameter, and almost ninety in height, is of one entire stone, and the base and pedestal of another. It stands on a foundation consisting of several pieces of stone and marble, some of which have been dug away, which makes it surprising how such a vast weight is supported.

The island of Pharos, on which stood the famous watch-town or light-house of the same name, which was reckoned one of the wonders of the world, is

now joined to the continent; and probably the lighthouse was situated where the castle is at present, at the entrance of the New Port, some pillars being discernible thereabouts at the bottom of the water, which perhaps are the remains of that superb structure. The present city of Alexandria has two ports, being situated exactly between them; one of which is called the New Port, and appropriated to the ships of Christendom; the other the Old Port, into which Turkish vessels only are admitted. The former is what Strabo calls the Great Port, and the latter the Port of Eunostus.

Amongst the curious remains of antiquity to be seen at Alexandria may be reckoned the catacombs, and also two obelisks, one of which is broken, part of it lying upon the ground. The patriarchal chair in the church of the Coptic convent is another thing usually shown to strangers, and the Greeks boast of their being possessed of the stone on which St. Catharine suffered martyrdom, with other curiosities of the same nature. But we had not half time enough to take a view of every thing in this city, and its neighbourhood, that is worth a traveller's observation, the ship which was to carry us to Europe setting sail a week sooner than we expected. With some reluctance therefore we embarked the 4th of February on board a ship bound for Marseilles, where we landed the 27th of the same month, and waited a week for a passage to England. This short time was spent very agreeably in the company of our good friend and fellow-traveller M. Du Marais, of whom we took our leave the 5th of March, and sailed for

London, where we arrived in good health on the the 12th of April 1735, sincerely thankful to that gracious Being who had preserved us through the course of our long travels, and restored us safe to our native country.



HISTORICAL REMARKS

RELATING TO

E G Y P T.

TILL THE PERIOD OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE.

IN the annals of almost every nation, there is a period involved in fables. In the early ages of the world, when writing was unknown, and when tradition was the only mode of transmitting events, transactions, by passing through the heated imaginations of various narrators, often assumed an aspect altogether different from that which really belonged to them. Ignorance always delights in what is marvellous: and it was no less easy, perhaps much easier, to tell a wonderful story, than one entirely consonant to the truth.

Almost every nation has attempted to obtain an imaginary honour from its antiquity. Where the origin was unknown, or but obscurely related, national prejudices extended it through many ages. He who fancied he had traced the history of his people,

scrupled not to give it to the world. Where all were ignorant, none could detect. Few, indeed, were willing to inquire; and, perhaps, still fewer were willing to detract from the credibility of that narration, which, by reflecting honour on their nation, imparted an imaginary honour to themselves. And, where the great body of a people say, This is our history, strangers may laugh, but cannot easily undeceive.

The history of Egypt, as well as of the greater part of nations which have subsisted during many ages, and undergone many revolutions, may be divided into three parts. First, that which is fabulous. Second, that which, though well authenticated, has no connection with their present state. And third, that which has gradually brought them to the condition, in which we at present find them. The first of these is the province of poets and mythologists; the second, of those who aspire at the reputation of learning; and the third, of such as wish to obtain an accurate notion of the present political state of the world. It is easy to see, therefore, that, however entertaining, however interesting, the two former periods may be, they are but slightly connected with our present undertaking: and that the latter period, however trifling, is attached to it by a very strong connection. It must be our endeavour to proportion our attention to these periods, according to their relative importance.

In the Egyptian history, the fabulous period includes all that preceded the reign of Psammiticus, who is generally placed, by chronologers, 670 years before Christ. The second, or ancient historic period, extends from the reign of Psammiticus, to the

year 642 after Christ, when Egypt was conquered by the Arabs: and the last, or modern historic period, extends, from the conquest by the Arabs, to the present time. It is not pretended, that every circumstance related by historians, concerning those various periods, invariably partakes of the general character. What happened in the first, may, sometimes, be truly related; but the truth is so incorporated with falsehood, that, to make a just distinction, requires more than human penetration. In the two latter periods, fiction may often be met, in the garb of truth; for men have, in all ages, been superstitious and credulous; inclined to honour themselves, at the expence of others; and often not unwilling to sacrifice truth to patriotic falsehood: it is sufficient, that the prevailing characters of the three periods be such as has been mentioned, to justify the appellations which they have received.

The ancient period of the Egyptian history was preserved only by means of hieroglyphics; a method of communicating ideas, which must be very imperfect, and which has perhaps a greater tendency to generate fables, than to detect or prevent them. The symbols made use of, were known only to the priests. To become acquainted with them, required a long and painful study; and, after all, it is far from certain, that any precise or determinate idea could be conveyed in this manner. The same figure had many different meanings, according to those with which it was combined; often, no doubt, according to the fancy of the composer; and, no less frequently, influenced by the imagination of the reader. The multitude of meanings which a symbol might possi-

bly bear, gave ample scope for each, to interpret according to his own inclination. In such a case, it is not to be expected that the interpretations would be often the same.

The Egyptian priests pretended, that they could trace their history, by authentic records, during the period of almost 50,000 years: a circumstance which plainly shows, that their opinion of the origin of the world, with regard to time at least, was different from that which is now generally received, in the western parts of the world. During this vast period, the transactions are either fabulous, or presented in a dress so much resembling fiction, as to meet with little credit. Menes is said to have been their first mortal king; for, before his time, they were governed by immortals. From the time of Menes, 330 kings, of whom not even the names are known, reigned in this country, during 1400 years: at the end of which period, it was invaded by the Shepherds, whom Bruce supposes to have been the pastoral tribes of Barbary. After another interval, of which the duration is not known, appeared Sesostris, that pretended conqueror, of whom so many fictions have been retailed, under the name of history. From this time, we find the names of certain princes, who are said to have reigned, with many periods intermixed, of which all are obliged to confess themselves ignorant; till we arrived at Psammiticus, who reunited, in his own person, the kingdom, which had been divided into twelve principalities, with as many independent sovereigns. The history of Psammiticus, has an appearance no less romantic, than that of several of his predecessors. He is said to have at-

tempted to discover the sources of the Nile; and to have endeavoured, very absurdly, to determine which of the nations of the world could boast of the greatest antiquity, by causing two children to be reared, without hearing any human voice; imagining, that nature would teach them to speak the language of the most ancient people. This story contains very little probability; but, were it true, the Egyptians would appear not to have merited that philosophical celebrity, which they have acquired.

Psammiticus was succeeded by his son Nechus, who unsuccessfully attempted to cut through the isthmus of Suez; and who is said to have dispatched some Phœnician mariners, on a voyage round Africa. The voyage is said, by some, to have been successful, while others doubt whether it was ever undertaken. Nechus subdued Assyria and Phœnicia; but was overcome by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Apries is the Pharaoh Hophra who made a league with Zedekiah, king of Judea; but was unable to assist him against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. His subjects afterwards revolted; and, under Amasis, first conquered the few troops by whom his cause was supported, and afterwards killed himself. Amasis is said to have made his country happy by a wise administration; but, when we are assured, that at this time it contained 20,000 cities, we may be convinced that this history is too nearly allied to fiction to command our belief.

Whatever may have been the wisdom of Amasis in other cases, he was imprudent enough to draw upon himself the resentment of Cambyses king of Persia, and Polycrates, prince of Samos. Amasis

died before the threatened vengeance of the Persians could be accomplished; but his death did not put an end to the expedition of Cambyses. He was in vain opposed by Psammonitus, the successor of Amasis: and after the perpetration of many cruelties, on both sides, Egypt became a province of the Persian empire; and continued to be so, while that empire remained in existence. When the dominions of Darius were seized by Alexander the Great, Egypt submitted to the conqueror without a struggle.

When that vast territory, which had been subdued by the arms of Alexander, was, after his death, divided among the numerous princes, who succeeded to his power, Egypt, Lybia, and that part of Arabia which is contiguous to Egypt, were bestowed on Ptolemy Lagus; who, after governing for some time, under the character of one of the regents for Alexander's heir, assumed the full sovereignty; and declared himself an independent prince, under the name of Ptolemy Soter. He greatly enlarged and beautified Alexandria, making it the capital of his dominions: and, after having, by his justice and clemency, made his memory to be revered among those whom he had governed, he was succeeded by his son Philadelphus, who was the first of the Egyptian potentates who entered into an alliance with the Romans.

Ptolemy Euergetes, who succeeds Philadelphus, about 246 years before Christ, carried on a successful war against Antiochus Theus, king of Syria; and having extended his dominions to the strait of Babel-mandel on the south, was, in the 27th year of his reign, succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philopater.

The succeeding princes of Egypt, enervated both in body and mind, by a voluptuous education, could not maintain the integrity of those dominions which they had acquired. Philopater, imagining, that by putting his brother to death, he had given sufficient stability to his power, abandoned himself to luxury and licentiousness. The anarchy, which was the consequence of this conduct, encouraged Antiochus, king of Syria, who has been distinguished by the name of Great, to attempt the seizure of the provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine. His attempt was not successful; but the indolence of Philopater suffered him to remain in possession of Syria, from which he might have been expelled.

Philopater dying, in the 17th year of his reign, was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes, during whose reign Cœlo-Syria and Palestine were seized by Antiochus the king of Syria. After a reign of 24 years, he was succeeded by Philometer, who immediately commenced a war with Antiochus, on account of the usurped provinces. Philometer was soon made prisoner, and his brother Physcon, was, by the Alexandrians, raised to the throne. Antiochus Epiphanes, invading Egypt, deposed Physcon, and restored Philometer to his kingdom. The brothers, justly suspecting that he was desirous of exciting disturbances between them, in order to take that advantage of weakening them both, united their arms to withstand his designs. Antiochus prepared to invade Egypt, and would probably, in a short time, have made himself master of it, had he not been prevented by the Romans, who now began to interpose in the affairs of all the surrounding nations.

The interposition of the Romans, which had freed Egypt from the dread of a foreign enemy, soon became necessary to appease the dissensions which had arisen between the brothers. Philometer, who had been driven from his kingdom, and had fled to Rome, was carried back by the Roman ambassador, who divided the Egyptian territories between him and Physcon, bestowing on the former Egypt, and the island of Cyprus, and on the latter, Lybia and Cyrene. Physcon, who, of the two, seems to have been the more turbulent, dissatisfied with his share, applied to the Romans to have Cyprus added to his dominions. The Romans could not be ignorant of the injustice of his demands; but considering, that to weaken foreign powers, was to add to their own strength; and that, by fermenting the jealousies of the Egyptian monarchs, they might at last become the proprietors, instead of the allies of Egypt, granted his request.

Philometer, who, though less turbulent than his brother, was perhaps possessed of more true fortitude, at first hesitated, and at last refused to comply with the grant of Cyprus, made by the Roman senate. Physcon's tyrannical conduct had, in the mean time, excited a revolt against him in Cyrene; and, though he succeeded in quelling it, an attempt was afterwards made to murder him. Physcon, with all the malice of unsuccessful rivalry, attributed both the revolt, and attempt against his person, to the machinations of Philometer; and repairing once more to Rome, found the Romans, who had been incensed by the refusal of Philometer to submit to their decree, so willing to listen to his insinuations, that they

resolved to establish him in Cyprus by force. Physcon immediately collected an army, and landed in the island. He was opposed by Philometer in person, who first defeated, and afterwards made him prisoner. Instead, however, of inflicting the punishment which Physcon's crimes seemed to require, he restored to him Lybia and Cyrene; promised him his daughter in marriage; and gave him some additional territories in place of Cyprus, which he resolved to retain. Such clemency was a severe censure upon the arbitrary proceedings of the Romans, and they were ashamed longer to avow themselves the enemies of one, who had evinced so amiable a character.

Archias, to whom Philometer had intrusted the government of Cyprus, had agreed to betray the island into the hands of Demetrius, king of Syria, but was prevented from the execution of his design. Philometer, to punish Demetrius, joined Attalus, king of Pergamos, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, in placing Alexander Balas upon his throne. Balas, by his ingratitude, soon drew upon himself the vengeance of Philometer, his benefactor, who overthrew his forces in the neighbourhood of Antioch; but, in a short time, died of the wounds which he had received in the engagement.

That portion of the kingdom of Egypt, which had belonged to Philometer, ought to have descended to his son; but Physcon, who forgot nothing which could advance his ambitious projects, had formed a party among the nobility, and baffled every attempt of Cleopatra the queen, to place her son upon the throne. To avoid a civil war, it was determined

that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and reign with her during his life; and that, at his death, her son, by Philometer, should succeed to his father's dominions. Cleopatra, unable to withstand the party which had been formed against her, consented to the marriage; and the unprincipled Physcon, to prevent factions from being formed in favour of his heir, on the day of his nuptials, murdered him in the arms of his mother. This murder was followed by that of all whom he suspected of pitying the infant. His indiscriminating cruelty vented itself alternately on his foes and his friends. Disgusted at his queen, whom he had espoused only through political motives, he divorced her; and first ravished and afterwards married her daughter, also called Cleopatra. His cruelties, at length, inspired his subjects with such hatred of him, that to avoid their resentment, he fled to Cyprus; taking with him his new queen, and Memphitis, a son, whom he had by her mother. Cleopatra, his former wife, was, by the Alexandrians, immediately set upon the throne. To prevent her son, by Physcon, from being declared king, his father caused him to be immediately murdered. The Alexandrians, to testify their abhorrence of such a deed, threw down every statue which had been erected in honour of the perpetrator. Imagining this to have proceeded from the instigations of the divorced Cleopatra, he sent the mangled limbs of her son, in a box to be delivered to her, as a present, on her birthday. To revenge so barbarous an insult, Marsyas, the queen's general, was dispatched with an army. Hegelochus, Physcon's general, with a numerous army, chiefly of mercenaries, met him upon the frontiers of

Egypt; and, attacking Marsyas, was more successful than his cause seemed to deserve. Contrary to Physcon's general mode of acting, Marsyas was pardoned, and set at liberty; but Cleopatra had no other army to retrieve her loss. Demetrius, the king of Syria, was willing to fight in her cause, and to receive the crown as his reward, but he had no sooner left his kingdom, than his cruelty, which had some resemblance to that of Physcon induced his subjects to revolt; and forced him to return, without effecting the purpose which he had undertaken. Cleopatra, deprived of every hope, fled to Ptolemais. Physcon now regained the throne, and, 122 years before Christ, in the 29th year of his reign, terminated a nefarious life, by a peaceful death.

Cleopatra, Physcon's widow, seems to have had an ambition little inferior to that of her husband, and not to have been much more scrupulous of the means employed for its gratification. Ptolemy Lathyrus, who succeeded his father, was not so submissive to her orders, as her imperious mind required. She, therefore, contrived to have him deposed, and Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, placed on the throne. Alexander, who was permitted to enjoy only the name of royalty, without the power, in disgust, left Alexandria. Conscious that she would not be permitted to reign alone, she used every artifice to induce him to return; and, at last, succeeded; when he, either having learnt, or pretending to have learnt, that his mother meant to procure his assassination, anticipated the design, by causing her to be murdered. The Alexandrians, sensible that Alexander was not their lawful sovereign, and

unwilling to submit to the sway of one, who had exemplified his brutality in the murder of his mother, expelled him from the throne, and recalled Lathyrus, who had been obliged to confine his ambition to the government of Cyprus. Alexander, having collected a fleet, attempted the invasion of Egypt; but was defeated by Tyrrhus, one of Lathyrus' admirals. He fled first to Myra, in Lycia, and afterwards to Cyprus: where, before he landed, he was attacked by Charcas, another of his brother's admirals. His fleet was dispersed, and he himself killed.

Lathyrus, now firmly established on his throne, to revenge himself on the revolted Thebans, turned his arms against the city of Thebes. He quickly reduced it; and, abandoning it to be plundered by his soldiers, they effected a destruction, so complete, that, from that time, it ceased to make a figure among Egyptian cities.

During the reign of Lathyrus, Apion, the son of Physcon, by a concubine, who had inherited Cyrene, and reigned in it 21 years, dying, constituted the Romans his heirs: thus detaching from the kingdom of Egypt a considerable portion of territory.

When Lathyrus died, Cleopatra was, by the Alexandrians, declared their queen: but Alexander II. son of that Alexander on whose account Lathyrus had been deposed, having attached himself to Sylla, the Roman general, was, by him, dispatched to take possession of the throne of Egypt. To prevent all civil dissensions, it was resolved, that he should marry Cleopatra. He consented; but murdered his queen nineteen days after his marriage. His subjects endured his oppressive cruelties for 15 years, when,

rising against him in every quarter, he fled to Pompey the Great, at that time engaged in war with Mithridates, king of Pontus. Pompey, either ashamed to take the part of a monster, or occupied with other views, which to him were of greater importance, refused to interpose in his behalf. He, therefore, dispatched messengers to Rome, to lay his case before the senate; and, in the mean time, shut himself up in Tyre. Before his ambassadors had concluded the negotiation, Alexander died: and, in order to create a dangerous enemy to Auletes, whom the Egyptians had placed upon his throne, he left his dominions to the Roman people. Such a legacy would have been gladly accepted, had not the Romans been apprehensive, that the numerous acquisitions made in this manner, should indicate such a wish for universal empire, as would combine against them the arms of the powerful eastern nations. Besides, Alexander had not the usual pretext of the want of an heir; since Auletes, of the Egyptian royal blood, was in possession of the throne when the will was made.

Auletes, who, even amidst eastern effeminacy, might be said to be remarkably effeminate, wished to be firmly established upon his throne; at the same time, that he had not the abilities, either of a soldier or statesman, to assist him in effecting his purpose. His right to the throne was not incontrovertible: for, though, by the father's side, he was of the royal blood, his mother was a concubine. To confirm his power, therefore, he resolved to apply to the Romans; and, as he had few personal abilities to urge in his cause, he scrupled not to purchase their friend-

ship. At the same time, it must be confessed, that, such was the state of the Roman government at this period, that wealth, more than justice, was considered in the determination of every cause. Julius Cæsar was consul when Auletes made his application; and, as he was deeply involved in debt, he gladly embraced this opportunity of a temporary relief. The price of Cæsar's friendship was 6000 talents; amounting in value to £1,162,500: of this, a part was bestowed on Pompey, to obtain his concurrence.

In the mean time, the Romans, convinced that they had nothing to fear from Auletes; and, perhaps, desirous of showing him the sincerity of their friendship, resolved to seize, for their own use, the island of Cyprus. The Alexandrians, already exasperated by the heavy taxes imposed upon them, to raise the sums necessary for the king's purposes, were thrown into a violent commotion, when they heard of the intended seizure of Cyprus. Auletes was loudly desired to assert the rights of the Egyptians to that part of their territories. This was a measure which his situation would by no means allow him to adopt. The enraged populace ran to attack him in his palace; but he escaped their vengeance, and immediately fled to Rome. At the island of Rhodes, he met Cato, on his way to take possession of the island of Cyprus. Willing to consult with this senator, of what was proper to be done, he sent him notice of his arrival; but was informed, that, if he wished to see Cato, he must wait on him at his own house. However humiliating this information might be, his situation would not permit him to be punctilious. He waited on Cato, who, without rising from his

seat, made many severe remarks upon the imprudence of his conduct. Instead of proceeding to Rome, where, in return for all he could offer, he should meet only with insults; he advised him to return to his kingdom, and by prudent measures, to endeavour to reconcile to himself his offended people. This advice was disregarded by Auletes and his friends. He proceeded to Rome; where he learnt that Cæsar, on whose friendship he placed his chief dependence, had, some time before, departed for Gaul. By Pompey, however, he was received with affability; and, in his house he remained, while he endeavoured to form a party in his favour. In order to this, besides expending immense sums, he was obliged to submit to the degradation of running from senator to senator, in order to court their friendship.

When Auletes had fled from Egypt, the Alexandrians, ignorant, and perhaps careless of his fate, had made his daughter, Berenice, their queen. When she was raised to the throne, she, at first, espoused Seleucus, the brother of Antiochus Asiaticus: but, being in a short time disgusted at him, she procured his death, and married Archelaus, a pretended son of Mithridates, called the Great. Notwithstanding the quarrel of the Alexandrians with their king, for not declaring war against the Romans, they seem not to have persisted in their warlike dispositions: since they deputed to Rome an embassy, consisting of no less than 100 persons, to explain to the Romans the causes of what had happened.

The arrival of this embassy did not a little alarm Auletes; but he had already proceeded too far to

stop; and, by presents and promises, he had obtained too many powerful friends, to dread the consequence of any of his actions. To rid himself, therefore, of his apprehensions, he caused the chief persons of the embassy to be assassinated. Instead of being punished for this crime, which he did not even endeavour to conceal, he, in a short time, procured a decree, directing, that he should be restored to his kingdom by force of arms. The candidates for the honour of conducting this expedition were numerous: and, as it was supposed to be a commission no less lucrative than honourable, their various claims were vigorously supported. During the time spent in this kind of contest, it was, perhaps, discovered, that the resources of Auletes were not only exhausted, but that they had never been so great as had been imagined. The business, therefore, was at first delayed; and it was afterwards discovered to be written in the books of the Sybils, that no Egyptian monarch should ever be assisted by a Roman army.

Auletes, perceiving that his presence at Rome tended little to advance his cause, repaired to Ephesus; and, after repeatedly soliciting the senate, to do something in his favours, he, by the advice of Pompey, applied to Gabinus, proconsul of Syria. Gabinus was one of those men, whom a bribe will tempt to do any thing. A positive law forbade a Roman proconsul to leave his province without orders: but a present of 5000 talents, borrowed at a high rate of interest, from Posthumus, a Roman knight, together with the promise of 5000 more, at a future period, prevailed upon him to march for Egypt. Archelaus, the husband of Berenice, met him at the

head of a numerous army, but was immediately defeated, and taken prisoner. Gabinius, however, willing to protract the war, that he might have an opportunity of procuring more money, suffered Archelaus to escape, and then demanded money to enable him to continue hostilities. Auletes, again had recourse to borrowing. At length, Archelaus was defeated, and put to death; and Auletes, was reinstated in his kingdom.

Auletes had no sooner regained his authority, than he put Berenice his daughter to death. Misfortune had not taught him wisdom. His oppression of his subjects was no less rigorous than before. The most exorbitant taxes were imposed, under pretence of paying his debts, a purpose for which he seems to have used but little of the money thus procured. Rabirius Posthumus, his principal creditor, made a voyage to Egypt for the purpose of demanding payment. Auletes declared that his finances were by no means in a flourishing state, but offered to make him collector of his taxes, that he might thus have an opportunity of paying himself. Rabirius accepted the place; but in a short time was imprisoned, and was fain to escape by flight; lest his debtor should have put him to death. At his return to Rome, he was prosecuted, for lending Pompey money, for the purpose of corrupting the Roman senators; for having dishonoured the character of a Roman knight, by becoming the servant of a foreigner; and for having been an accomplice of Gabinius, in the Egyptian expedition. To acquit him from these charges, required all the eloquence of Cicero. Gabinius was condemned to perpetual banishment;

and lived in exile, till he was recalled by Cæsar. Auletes, after his restoration, reigned only four years. At his death, he left a son and two daughters, whom, together with his kingdom, he put under the tuition of the Roman empire. The name of his son was Ptolemy. His daughters were called Arsinoe and Cleopatra, of whom the latter became a well known character in the history of Rome.

Egypt being thus delivered to the power of the Romans, and becoming in a short time a Roman province, its history forms part of that of the Roman empire; and, considered in itself, is of little importance. The race of Grecian monarchs, which ended in Cleopatra, had governed Egypt during 294 years; and it continued subject to the Roman emperors till 642; when it was conquered by the Arabs, under the command of Amru Ebn Al As, the Khalif Omar's general.

With the intermission of a few years, during which it was, in some measure, an independent state, Egypt was governed by the Khalifs of Bagdad, till the year 968, when it was reduced by Moez, the Fatemite Khalif of Cairwan, in Barbary. During a considerable period, the throne of Egypt was filled with princes of this line; till, at length, the viziers, or prime ministers, left to their masters only the shadow of power; and Saladin, who was of a more ambitious disposition, and possessed of greater abilities, than any of his predecessors in the office of vizier, assumed the sole power; and, being favoured by particular circumstances, declared himself, in 1173, Sultan, or Sovereign of Egypt.

The powers of Europe were, about this time, ex-

hausting themselves, by endeavouring to take from the Turks, the Holy Land; a country which did not belong to them, and from which they did not hope to reap any other advantage, than to be able to protect such Christians, as resorted to Jerusalem in pilgrimage, a very fashionable journey in those days. In order to obtain this advantage, mighty armies were levied, and the most dreadful cruelties were perpetrated. Kings left their own dominions a prey to anarchy and confusion, to attempt the overthrow of the Mahometans in the eastern countries. The Pope had called this war holy. Indulgencies of the fullest kind were granted to the crusaders. The cruelties committed were considered as acts of devotion. Every hero was a saint; every soldier a devotee: and the church might then be called militant both in a metaphorical and in a literal sense.

Saladin, who had overrun a great extent of territory, in the neighbourhood of Egypt, the scene of the invasion of the Christians, was naturally induced to turn his arms against those, who appeared to be so inveterate enemies of his religion, and of the country over which he claimed the sovereignty. William II. of Sicily, had invaded Egypt; and, with a numerous army, had besieged Alexandria. Saladin approached to its relief, and the Christians, without daring to venture an engagement, fled; leaving behind them all their military stores and baggage.

Saladin was not so fortunate in his next engagement with the crusaders. Returning, in 1176, from the conquest of Syria, he entered Cairo in triumph, and began to surround that city with a wall. Unwilling to remain unactive, while the Christians, or

as they are called by Mahometans, the Franks, were ravaging almost every country in his neighbourhood, in 1177, he led his army into Palestine, and attacked the crusaders; but was defeated, leaving, it is said, 40,000 men dead upon the field, besides a great number who perished in their flight homewards through the desert.

In 1182, Saladin undertook another expedition into Syria; but was not more successful than formerly, being repulsed from Aleppo and Al Mawssel. At sea, however, his admirals obtained a complete victory over the fleet of the Christians. In 1183, Saladin returned into Syria, and took the city of Amida. After having taken Aleppo, and three other cities, he turned his arms against the crusaders, who were assembled in great force at Sepphoris in Galilee. All his exertions, however, could not bring them to an engagement. They chose rather to submit to every insult, and to endure innumerable losses, than to engage an army, formidable for its numbers, but more formidable for the experience and bravery of its commander.

The Franks continued to be harassed by the arms of Saladin, during three years: but, in 1187, he gained a victory, which surpassed all his former conquests. The battle was fought near Tiberias; and was renewed, with redoubled fury, and the most inveterate obstinacy, for three days; at the conclusion of which, the Franks were completely vanquished. The king of Jerusalem was taken prisoner, with Arnold, the prince of Al Shawbee, and the masters of the two military orders at Jerusalem. Following his advantage, Tiberias was immediately besieged; and,

in a short time, capitulated. Acre, or Ptolemais, next surrendered. To extend his conquests more rapidly, he divided his army into three bodies. Neapolis, Cæsarea, and Sepphoris, soon fell into his hands. Joppa made a vigorous resistance, but was taken by storm. Tetrien, in the neighbourhood of Sidon, was taken, after a siege of six days. Sidon itself surrendered at the first summons. Berytus capitulated in seven days; and Ascalon, after a siege of fourteen days. Jerusalem was next invested, and a breach being made in the walls, the garrison capitulated, and were permitted to march out, with their families and effects.

The rapid conquests of Saladin made the Franks in the east entirely to lose courage. Their grief was extreme; not so much on account of the great number killed, as that the Holy Land, and sacred relics, were once more in the power of infidels. Thierrî, grand preceptor of the military order of Templars, writing to his brethren in the west, concerning the misfortunes of the Christians, says, "The king is taken, and what is still more deplorable, the precious wood of the true cross is fallen into the hands of the infidels. The garrison of Jerusalem considered themselves as particularly unfortunate, that they were obliged to deliver up with their own hands the holy city." "Men, women, and children," says Vector, "young and old, prostrated themselves before the holy sepulchre, bathing it with their tears, kissing and embracing it." In Europe, nothing could equal the consternation with which the tidings were received. We are told, by the writers of those times, that the Pope died of grief. Public prayers and fasts

were appointed on the occasion. Roger de Hoveden assures us, that “the cardinals resolved to avoid every species of pleasure and amusement; to receive no presents, from such as had causes depending in the court of Rome; and never to mount horse, as long as the Holy Land was trodden under foot by the infidels.” They resolved that they themselves should undertake the crusade; go to war at the head of the pilgrims, on foot; and subsist on the road by asking alms. Let us not, however, imagine, that the cardinals were so foolish as those resolutions would indicate; since it appears, that, when the resolutions were made, it was also resolved that none of them should be put into execution. The cardinals avoided no species of pleasure or amusement; they received presents as usual; they mounted their horses; they did not subsist by asking alms; they did not march on foot at the head of the pilgrims, nor did they go to the Holy Land. The Turks, on the other hand, while they rejoiced at having recovered their former possessions, had little respect for Christian purity. They converted the principal churches into mosques; but they were careful, previously, to purify them, by washing them with rose water.

Saladin continued, in 1188, to pursue his successes; and, though in some instances, his designs terminated unfavourably, he was generally fortunate. After reducing Laodicea, and many other places, he advanced against Antioch. Bohemond, the prince of that place, was so intimidated at the approach of the victorious sultan, that he begged a truce for eight months, which was granted him. To do this the sultan was the more willing, that his men had un-

dergone innumerable fatigues, and his allies were eager to return home. In the mean time, the scattered forces of the Christians collected themselves; and, forgetting their former dissensions, which had prevented them from acting with unanimity, they consulted on the measures proper to be adopted for their common preservation. All their councils would, perhaps, have been fruitless, had they not immediately received from Europe powerful reinforcements. In 1189, the army of the Franks amounted to nearly 40,000 men. They first made themselves masters of Alexandretta. Laying siege, in the next place, to Ptolemais, they were attacked by Saladin; but defeated him, killing 10,000 of his men.

The siege of Ptolemais was still carried on; but the besiegers were baffled in every attempt upon the place; and their efforts had continued for the space of three years, when Richard I. of England, commonly called Cœur de Lion, and Phillip II. of France, arrived with a numerous army. Of these, the former, if not the most skillful, was certainly the most intrepid general of his time; and at that period, intrepidity, rather than skill, seems to have had the chief influence in military undertakings. The arrival of a new army, headed by an able general, gave vigour to the attacks of the assailants; and Ptolemais was constrained to surrender. A number of prisoners fell into the hands of the crusaders, for whom Saladin refused the ransom that had been demanded; and Richard, little to the honour of his humanity, caused 3000 of them to be butchered in cold blood.

The exertions made by Richard, at the siege of Ptolemais, now known by the name of Acre, procur-

ed him the supreme command of the Christian army. Several historians informs us, that he advanced to besiege Ascalon; that Saladin met him on the way, with 300,000 men, whom he defeated, and obliged to retreat, leaving 40,000 upon the field. Other historians, and, among the rest, Vertot, who has inquired fully into the history of those transactions, take no notice of this event. That a battle of such magnitude, had it been properly authenticated, should be passed over, by such as professedly wrote the history of the crusades, is not very probable. It may be considered, therefore, as at least doubtful. That Richard's success had not been quite so great, may be inferred, from the necessity he was soon under of concluding a truce. This truce, according to the character of the times, was to continue during three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours.

Saladin died in 1193, and was succeeded by his son Ottoman, who possessed neither his father's courage nor abilities. The empire, founded by Saladin, continued to flourish, for some time, rather in consequence of the capacity of its founder, than of the capacity of its various rulers. The history of Egypt presents no interesting event, till 1250, when the Mamalukes, a band of Turkish or Tartar slaves, who had been trained to war, and employed in the defence of the Egyptians, a task to which luxury had made the Egyptians themselves unequal, drove the sultan, Malek al Salek, from the throne, and usurped the government. But, however brave the Mamalukes might be, their number was too small to maintain an absolute authority over the other parts of the Egyptian army. To establish their power,

therefore, they followed a plan, similar to that by which they themselves had been brought into Egypt. They purchased many Christian slaves, chiefly from Circassia; and, training them to the use of arms, placed them in garrisons, in different parts of the country, to serve as a check upon any insurrection. The Mamalukes were better soldiers than politicians. They did not foresee that this plan subjected them to the same danger, which had proved fatal to the Egyptian sultans. Experience, in a short time, taught them this truth. The Christian slaves, to whom the name of Borgites had been given, were soon much more numerous than their proprietors. They became sensible of their power, and deposing their masters, together with the name of Mamulakes, assumed the government of Egypt.

The Borgites, or, as they had called themselves, the Mamalukes, by the same military exertions, which had acquired it, preserved their authority, during upwards of 200 years. In 1517, they were attacked by Selim, the Turkish sultan; and found their valour insufficient to sustain them against his numerous armies. Instead of establishing a bashaw, for the government of this part of his conquests, Selim, for reasons which seem not to be clearly understood by historians, formed Egypt into a kind of republic, or rather aristocracy. In this aristocracy, he allowed the Mamalukes to have considerable influence, an influence which they were careful to augment, till it had almost annihilated the authority of the Turks: and, in 1746, Ibrahim Kiaya might be considered as the master of Egypt. Ibrahim was succeeded by Ali bey, whose impetuous valour rendered him a

troublesome neighbour to the Turks; till, in 1773, he was succeeded by Mahomed bey, who had been his general, and was suspected of having poisoned his master.

Mahomed enjoyed his power only a few years; and, his death, was succeeded by intestine commotions, by which the country was perpetually ravaged. Each chief, who had wealth or craft sufficient to form a party, conceived that he had a chance for sovereignty; and, during the struggle, justice and humanity were equally forgotten.

Such was the state of Egypt, when the French undertook that expedition, which bears some resemblance to the crusades of ancient times. The motive was not indeed religious fanaticism; but it was, at least partly a political enthusiasm, little different from fanaticism in its effects. To this political enthusiasm, however, were joined many other motives, which were, perhaps, never understood, much less enumerated. That the French were anxious to propagate their political creed, in every country, cannot be doubted: that they promised themselves many advantages from the possession of Egypt, is little less certain. Under the management of a civilized people, it is evidently a country capable of becoming the centre of eastern commerce. We need scarcely hesitate in concluding, that the French meant to restore the ancient road to India; to deprive the British of a part of their Indian trade; and if possible, of their Indian territory. Buonaparte had no sooner established himself in the country, in some degree of security, than he personally ascertained the certainty of the existence of a canal, between the Mediterranean and

Red Sea; and, by his orders, engineers were employed in taking the level between the two seas, cross the isthmus of Suez. The extraordinary attention paid to this subject, indicated a desire of effecting, in this direction, a passage into the Indian Ocean. When, to political enthusiasm, and the desire of extending the trade and the power of France, we add the apprehensions entertained by the Directory, of an army, for which they had little employment, and which they hardly durst disband; and their jealousy of a general, whom every enemy had vainly opposed; who seemed to have a mind formed for the most extraordinary undertakings; and whose enterprising genius might be turned against their own authority; we find the motives sufficiently powerful, to instigate the French to undertake the expedition to Egypt. These were not, perhaps, all the causes. That they were some of them, and probably the most powerful, may be safely asserted.

Buonaparte engaged in this scheme, with all his usual ardour. This ardour has been used as an argument, to convince us, that, instead of being deceived into the undertaking, in order to procure his absence from his country, he had a part in the formation of the project: but it is not necessary to conclude, either that the expedition was not intended, to procure, for Buonaparte, on honourable banishment; or that he did not perceive the intention of the projectors. The knight errantry of the project suited the fancy of a young and fortunate soldier. He hoped to acquire new applause, and, consequently, additional influence, from the promised success: and he knew that he could, at any time, return to his country,

to take advantage of such incidents as might seem favourable to his ambition.

On the 20th of May, 1799, Buonaparte embarked at Toulon. The armament consisted of 15 sail of the line and frigates, and upwards of 200 transports. As Egypt has long been considered as a country of which the antiquities deserved the investigation of the learned, the French, who had, for some time, endeavoured to reconcile the elegancies of literature, with the convulsions of internal revolutions, and the shocks of external war, selected a number of enlightened individuals, to accompany the army; to make such researches, as might amuse the learned, instruct the politician, or enrich the merchant. With this mixture of scientific and warlike preparations, the fleet sailed; and, on the 9th of June, appeared before the fortress of Malta. It was immediately summoned to surrender. To enforce the summons, troops and artillery were landed, to commence a siege; when, without making even the show of resistance, the governor capitulated.

Leaving in Malta a garrison of 3000 men, and having received a reinforcement of 60 sail of transports, the fleet proceeded to Alexandria. It had no sooner arrived on the Egyptian coast, than Buonaparte, on the 1st of July, landed with 5000 men; and marching to Alexandria, put to flight, the Arabs and Mamelukes, by whom it was defended, and made himself master of the city. In the meanwhile, the remainder of the army was disembarked. Buonaparte assembled the Turkish chiefs. He declared that his sole intention was to liberate Egypt from the oppression of the beys, who were the tyrants of the coun-

try, without being the friends of the Porte. The Turks, not perhaps so much convinced of the sincerity of his declaration, as of their inability to resist his power, took an oath not to betray him. Three days only were employed in putting Alexandria into what the French called a state of organization. Kleber was left to superintend it; and Bounaparte led his army cross the desert to Rosetta. Resistance was not attempted. Rosetta and Rhamanie submitted to different columns of the French army. Garrisons were left in both places; while the main body continued its march, along the Nile, towards Cairo.

The French, on the 19th of July, found themselves at Amm-el-Dinar; and, next day, reaching Embabey, they found the Mamalukes in considerable force in an intrenched camp, which they seemed resolved to defend.

Buonaparte no sooner discovered the enemy than he gave orders to put the men in the order of battle. "When he had given his final orders, says Denon, he said to the soldiers, pointing to the pyramids, "Push on, and recollect that from the summit of these monuments forty centuries watch over us." If Buonaparte actually made use of such expressions, he surely relied considerably on the penetration of his soldiers, since the meaning of them, if, indeed, they have any meaning, is not very obvious. The troops, in pursuance of the command, advanced under Dessaix, Dugua, Vial, and Bon. Murad Bey, one of the chiefs of the Mamalukes, having viewed the enemy by which he was to be attacked, expressed his contempt for them, by threatening to cut them up like gourds, and consequently moved towards them with

the principal division of his men. He approached Dugua with such impetuosity that the soldiers had scarcely time to prepare themselves for their reception. As they advanced more near, however, Dugua commenced a warm and well directed fire, which, as it was unexpected, created some confusion among the impetuous Mamalukes, and drove them towards Desaix's division. The fire which had thus disappointed the intended attack of the Mamalukes was continued till, instead of showing much eagerness to become aggressors, they appeared to be more eager to provide for their own safety. As a last effort, they attempted to turn Dugua's division. Passing, for that purpose, between the divisions of Desaix and Reynier, they received a volley from each, which completed their discomfiture. They no longer thought of any attack. Part of them returned towards Embabey, part took shelter in a plantation of palm-trees, from which the riflemen soon dislodged them. They retreated with precipitation towards the descent of the pyramids, and afterwards caused much trouble to the invaders of Upper Egypt.

Notwithstanding the overthrow and retreat of this body of Mamalukes, the whole army was not yet dispersed, the intrenched camp was still occupied by a considerable number. The fortifications of this camp were furnished with twenty-eight pieces of cannon; and, as the French approached the village of Embabey, they were much annoyed by these pieces of artillery. As the only mode of ridding themselves of this annoyance, it was resolved to storm the camp. A division of troops advanced for that purpose, under general Rampon. The Mamalukes, hoping once

more to be able to discomfit the assailants by the impetuosity of their attack, sallied from their camp. The French, however, received them with a fire, which, at first, disconcerted them, and soon obliged them to retreat. They endeavoured to regain their camp. The French soldiers entered along with them. The guns were immediately taken. The French, at the same instant, made themselves masters of the village, and the Mamalukes retired by the bank of the river. In a short time, a crossing wall opposed their progress. They turned towards the river itself, and, throwing themselves into it, endeavoured to join the army of Ibrahim Bey, who had posted himself on the opposite bank, for the purpose of covering Cairo. The carnage, at this time, was dreadful. The French, taking their aim with composure, killed many of them; while, of those who reached the river, the greater part was drowned.

This battle determined the fate of Egypt. The Mamalukes no longer dared to oppose the French, and the latter advanced towards Cairo, secure of easily obtaining possession of it.

This engagement, which has been called the battle of the pyramids, put Cairo into the hands of the French. They entered it on the 22d of July. A party was immediately dispatched to Upper Egypt, in pursuit of the fugitive Murad. Another party was left in Cairo: and, with the third, Buonaparte marched in search of Ibrahim Bey, who shared with Murad, the sovereignty of Egypt. In this search, Buonaparte did not succeed. He returned to Cairo; and, with much solemnity, celebrated the overflowing of the Nile. Garrisons were dispatched to Dam-

iatta and Mansoura: and such regulations made as seemed to favour the permanency of the French power in this quarter, and to secure the interests of commerce.

While the French army had with so much ease, made themselves masters of Lower Egypt, the fleet which conducted them thither, was by no means so fortunate. A British fleet, commanded by Admiral Nelson, which had been dispatched to intercept the French, when they first left Toulon, arrived at Malta two days after the French had sailed from it. Rightly supposing that Alexandria was their next place of destination, Nelson directed his course thither: but, passing them unperceived, by the way, he conjectured that they had sailed to some other port, and proceeded immediately in search of them. He had scarcely lost sight of Alexandria, when the French fleet arrived; and, being informed that the British fleet was in search of them, the French ships were drawn up, in order of battle, as near the shore as it was judged safe for them to approach. The British admiral having learnt that the French were at anchor, in the road of Aboukir, on the first of August, again made his appearance; and, notwithstanding the situation of the French fleet, he hesitated not to engage. By one of those daring manœuvres, which only genius and intrepidity can direct, and courage and dexterity alone can execute, he threw half of his squadron between the French fleet and the shore; and commenced the engagement, with a tremendous fire, on both sides. The action began before seven in the morning. At nine, the French admiral was killed. At ten, his ship, *L'Orient*, of 110 guns was blown

up. The victory now evidently belonged to the British; but the contest was by no means finished. It continued during the whole of that day, and the succeeding night. Morning showed the French fleet totally disabled, and in the possession of the British. Of the whole squadron, only two ships of the line, and two frigates escaped. The transports, in the port of Alexandria might have been attacked; but it could not be supposed, that the British vessels, in so severe an engagement, had not sustained considerable damage. Besides, the French had thrown up batteries on the shore, for their protection; so that an attack, instead of completing the victory, might have risked the advantage which had been already gained. Leaving, therefore, commodore Hood to block up the port of Alexandria; and, burning such of his prizes as he could not carry with him, Nelson sailed for Britain.

By this engagement, the situation of Buonaparte was rendered very precarious. The French navy in the Mediterranean was almost annihilated. To receive reinforcement from France, or to return thither, appeared equally impracticable: so that all his address was necessary, to conciliate the good will of the Egyptians, and all his courage, to withstand the dangers by which he was surrounded.

Murad-Bey, when he was defeated in the battle of the pyramids, fled, as has been formerly mentioned, with part of his troops and took shelter in Upper Egypt. Buonaparte, without taking the trouble of pursuing him, made himself master of Cairo, and despatched Desaix, with a detachment from the ar-

my, to reduce Upper Egypt, and to destroy or disperse the remaining troops of Murad.

Desaix having received his final orders, commenced his march on the 26th of August, accompanied by a small squadron of boats. After succeeding in taking possession of some boats at Rechuesch, in which the Mamalukes had deposited part of their provisions and ammunition, and after making himself master of the canal Jusef, for the purpose of maintaining a communication with Cairo, he continued to pursue Murad, who had fled first to Faium, and then to Siut. When Desaix arrived at the last mentioned place, he found that the Mamalukes had retired to Beneadi, whither he in vain attempted to follow them. At Tarut-el-Cherif he embarked his army upon the canal of Jusef, and, in spite of the opposition of the inhabitants upon its banks, aided by the Mamalukes, advanced as far as Mansoura, where Murad lay encamped. He intended to have landed at this place, but found that to land where he was liable to be opposed by the whole force of the Mamalukes, would be an arduous undertaking. He returned therefore, towards Minkia, where he hoped to disembark with less inconvenience; and the Mamalukes, encouraged by his retrograde motion, began to attack the barks with all their fury. The French grenadiers repulsed them; threw them into confusion; and the whole, taking advantage of the circumstance, landed without further opposition, and marched along the banks of the canal towards Mansura, where the Mamalukes lay encamped upon an elevated position, and where by the help of their glasses, they could perceive Murad himself, decorated according

to eastern magnificence, and surrounded by his numerous officers; the whole forming a splendid band.

The French had been able to bring along with them only two field-pieces. With these they commenced the attack, and the Mamalukes, either intimidated, or, what is more probable, willing to lead the assailants into a situation more favourable for themselves, retreated, and permitted themselves to be pursued as far as Elbelamon. This movement, as the Mamalukes perhaps foresaw, led the French to a distance from their boats, to which, as they were without food, they found it necessary to return. The Mamalukes, in their turn, began to pursue; and, though the French artillery prevented the main body from making an assault, some of the most courageous advanced, attacked the French with their sabres, and, in spite of every opposition, carried away two of them prisoners.

Murad, who possessed a considerable share of that address which is of so much use in modern warfare, caused a stranger to report in his camp that the French, in Alexandria, had been destroyed by the British, that those in Cairo had been destroyed by the Turks, and that, consequently, it remained for his troops to complete the annihilation of the invaders of Egypt; by destroying the army of Desaix. To impress these ideas more forcibly upon the minds of his soldiers, he proclaimed a feast in his camp, when he exhibited mock engagements between the Mamalukes and the French, in which the latter, as it may be supposed, were invariably vanquished.

Desaix, meanwhile, had returned to his barks, had procured a quantity of provisions, and had refreshed

his men by a few hours rest. Having received information that Murad was now at Sedinan, he gave orders to advance, for the purpose of recommencing the attack. As he approached, the Mamalukes' loud cries of exultation evinced the ardour of Murad's soldiers to engage enemies whom they had been studiously taught to despise. Night, however, approached, and interrupted the ardour of both parties. Several of the Mamalukes insulted the advanced posts of the French, by imitating their language, and uttering tones of derision.

Day no sooner appeared, than the French formed themselves into the order of battle, and they had hardly completed that movement when they saw Murad approaching, at the head of his Mamalukes, supported by upwards of eight thousand Arabs. Before the armies could meet, it was necessary to pass an intervening valley. The French had already descended into it, when the Mamalukes, taking advantage of their unfavourable position, rushed upon them from every hand, with a fury surpassing any thing which they had formerly displayed. Convinced that their safety depended upon their adherence to a close and regular order, the French remained unmoved; at the same time that they commenced a well directed fire, which, in a short time, apparently diminished the impetuosity of the Mamalukes. They seemed to retire, and the French flattered themselves with the prospect of an easy victory, when Murad, suddenly turning, attacked a different part of the French line.

This unexpected movement somewhat disconcerted the division against which it was directed. Many of them fell under the sabres of the Mamalukes, but

those who remained alive laid themselves prostrate upon the ground, and thus gave an opportunity to the chief body of the French to recommence their fire on the assailants. Their fury was again diminished, and a momentary retreat gave the scattered French an opportunity of retiring among their comrades, who still maintained their order.

Elated by the discomfiture of one part of the French line, Murad once more led his cavalry to the charge, with renewed intrepidity; and, though the French continued their fire with unabated vigour, it hindered them not from advancing to the very muzzles of the muskets. At this instant the combat was dreadful. Such was the rage of the Mamalukes, such the energy of their strokes, and such the keenness of their sabres, that many of the French muskets were cut in two. When the horses refused to rush upon the points of the bayonets, the Mamalukes turned them round, and forced them backwards. Their aim was, if possible, to break the ranks of the enemy; but the French, convinced if their ranks was broken, discomfiture would be the certain consequence, maintained their ground with desperate resolution. The rage of the combatants was exasperated into savage fury. The Mamalukes, even when they were dismounted, perhaps wounded, crawled under the muskets of the French, and struck at the legs of their adversaries. Willing, by any possible means, to hurt their enemy, they showered upon them their guns, pistols, hatchets; and, after having killed a great number of the French, without having been able to vanquish them, they sullenly retired, for they could not be said to retreat.

The French were, for a short time relieved from

the assaults of their enemies; but they soon discovered that they were in a situation, if possible, more desperate than at any former period. Scarcely had the Mamalukes regained their former position, when from a battery, hitherto concealed, and which had eight guns, they began to fire upon the French, who stood completely exposed. At every discharge several men fell. Nothing could exceed the dreadful suspense in which Desaix was at this time placed. What orders should he issue? To remain in the same position was to expose his men to certain destruction, without any possibility of retaliation. To retreat was to inspire the Mamalukes with new courage, to dispirit his own troops, and to prepare them for discomfiture. To advance was to abandon his numerous wounded soldiers to infallible death. Some of these modes of acting it was necessary to adopt without delay; and the last, though contrary to every dictate of humanity, was thought to be most eligible. The order to advance was accordingly given; and the French, convinced that their only hope of safety depended on a complete victory, marched on with that resolution which desperation sometimes inspires. The light artillery proceeded first to the attack, and being supported by a body of grenadiers, they were soon masters of the battery. The Mamalukes remained for some time apparently irresolute. Then, suddenly turning round, they fled with a celerity equal to that with which they had advanced, and, in an instant, were cut of sight.

This engagement, which was distinguished by the name of the battle of Sedinan, though it terminated in the favour of the French, was not purchased without very considerable loss; so considerable, that

Desaix found it necessary to procure reinforcements from Cairo before he could continue hostilities; and, upon the whole, it added little to the real power of the French in Upper Egypt. Murad had, indeed, been compelled to retreat, but his power was far from being annihilated. He perceived, no doubt, that it was vain for him to contend with the French infantry in the open field; but he was likewise convinced that, by the celerity of his movements, he could impede all their operations; and, by continuing to harass them, without attempting any decisive action, he could gradually exhaust their strength, and could render their condition so extremely precarious, as might, perhaps, induce them to abandon the country. He, accordingly, adopted this mode of acting; and, after he had sustained repeated defeats, which the French had flattered themselves were decisive, he proved a more formidable foe than when his force was entire. The chief advantage which the French derived from this engagement, in which they suffered so severely, was to render the Arabs less willing to support the Mamalukes.

The French, in a short time, learnt that their apprehensions of being once more attacked in Upper Egypt, were more just than perhaps they had at first been willing to believe. A spy, who arrived in the evening, informed them that the troops which had lately come from Mecca had joined Osman; that they had intrenched themselves at Benhute, at the distance of three leagues from Keneh, and that they impatiently waited the approach of the French, for the purpose of coming to an engagement. Nor was this all. They had intercepted several of the barks while they descended the Nile; had put to death all who were

on board, and had converted to their own use every part of the lading.

However unwelcome this intelligence might be, it convinced them that it was now no time to remain inactive. They were eager to go in quest of an enemy, of whose resistance they formed no exalted opinion; but it was requisite, in the first place, to pass the Nile, and the remaining part of the barks were still at some distance behind. They encamped for some time upon the bank of the river, waiting till the vessels should arrive; but perceiving, by the number of horsemen passing in every direction, that they were seen by the enemy, they thought it prudent to ascend the river to meet their boats, that they might cross with less interruption. In a short time the vessels were in sight, and the whole of the 9th was spent in passing the Nile. The enemy wished to meet them, and did not, therefore, attempt to prevent their landing. They again commenced their march on the 10th, and soon after arrived at Kous, where the intelligence which they had received on the other side of the river was confirmed.

At Kous, which was a place of some trade, and which was inhabited chiefly by Copts, who were catholics, the French experienced more civilities than in other parts of Egypt. The sheik, or chief, had been particularly attached to Desaix, and it seems to have been in this place that Denon was informed of the appellation of *the just* having been emphatically applied to that general; at least he takes this opportunity of giving that part of his friend's eulogium. Whatever may have been the cause of his attachment, the sheik endeavoured to show the sincerity of it by giving his opinion concerning the mode in

which they ought to attack the enemy. The French, somewhat conceited of their superior prowess, seem to have paid but little attention to the advice.

Hardly had they passed the remains of the ancient Copthos, of which the extensive ruins bespeak the former importance, when they were informed that the enemy was approaching. A slight repast was scarcely finished when the standards of the Meccans were in view; and by the extent of ground which they covered, denoted the number of the enemy to be considerable. The French formed themselves into a square battalion. To support their flanks they had only a small field-piece, and fifteen cavalry. The armies were soon near each other, and the French marksmen were sent to dislodge a party which had posted itself in a village. A victory without a struggle was probably expected, and the marksmen were perhaps somewhat astonished that the Meccans did not give way at their approach. Though only half armed, they maintained their ground; and though the field-piece was directed against them, they disdained to fly. They remained unmoved till almost every one of them had fallen.

The obstinancy of the first encounter was only a prelude to what was to follow. As the French advanced they found the enemy more completely armed, and more advantageously posted. They drove them, however, from village to village; and, notwithstanding a false attack of the Mamalukes, they pressed forwards to Benhute, where they knew the chief strength of the Meccans to be concentrated. From the opposition which they had already experienced, the French expected in this place to meet with a considerable resistance; but their surprise

could hardly be exceeded, when they found a battery opened upon them, from which they were cannonaded with much effect. The destruction which at this moment was sustained by the French, seems to have been great as well as rapid. Denon informs us, that, during a halt of ten minutes, three persons were killed while they conversed with himself.

Anxious to escape from this destructive fire, and supposing that the cannon of the Meccans were not mounted, and that, consequently, they could be pointed only in one direction, the French, with all possible celerity, moved towards another position. It was soon discovered, however, that this movement was vain. The balls regularly followed them. It was necessary, therefore, to attack the battery, and, if possible, to take it by storm. While a party of troops proceeded on this hazardous service, the remainder of the army posted itself in the front of the village, where the action was sustained with unabated fury. The detachment no sooner advanced to the charge, than they were opposed by the Mamelukes, who seemed to be resolved to cover the battery. Always averse, however, to sustain the fire of infantry, they soon gave way. The battery was taken by storm, and all who were found near it were put to death. It was now found that the guns of the battery had been taken from the barks; and that the French had been attacked not only with their own guns, but with their own ammunition.

Flattering themselves that this advantage would so dispirit the Meccans that their discomfiture would be the consequence, or that at least they should be compelled to retreat, the French continued their exertions; but they soon found that the enemy was far

from being intimidated. One party, indeed, retired to a small distance, but it retired with so much order that an attack was thought to be dangerous. Besides, a small party no sooner ventured beyond the enclosed country, than they were driven back by the Mamalukes, so that the whole army was obliged to advance in the order of battle.

The action had now continued six hours, and the French, totally in want of water, were exhausted with thirst and fatigue. They were animated by the hope, however, that the loss of their batteries would force the Meccans either to venture a general and decisive engagement, or to attempt an escape by swimming across the Nile, or by retreating under the protection of the Mamalukes. To force them to form one of these resolutions as speedily as possible, the French troops continued to press forwards; but when they approached a small wood, into which some of the enemy had been observed to retreat, they were not a little surprised to find that it contained a village, and a fortress belonging to the Mamalukes.

It was now obvious that the action could not be speedily terminated. The fortress had lately been considerably strengthened, and had been plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, taken from the French themselves. Willing, if possible, to terminate the affair by a great exertion, an attempt was made to take the fortress by storm; but, after continued efforts for two hours, during which they vainly attempted to assail it on every side; after being more than once successfully repelled; and after having had sixty men killed, and as many wounded, they were obliged, at the approach of night, to take

possession of a mosque, for their own protection, and to annoy the enemy, by setting fire to the houses in the vicinity of the fortress.

The interval of inaction which succeeded, was spent by both parties in preparations for future hostilities. The French remounted the guns which had formerly belonged to their barks, and which they had lately taken from the enemy. The Meccans pointed those guns which they had not yet brought into action, and raised low batteries to strengthen the place which they were to defend. The intelligence which the French received from several deserters added little to their comfort. They were informed that the soldiers on board their vessels had been totally destroyed; after an obstinate resistance of twenty hours; that the Meccans had taken the most judicious steps to derive the greatest advantage from the stores of which they had made themselves masters; that they had sunk one of the captured boats in such a position as should force every vessel passing upon the Nile to come within the reach of their batteries, and had thus rendered themselves masters of the river; and that, though they had lost many men in the late engagement, their number was still very great, and their courage in no degree diminished.

Daylight no sooner appeared than the French began to cannonade the fortress, with the design of making a breach; but the balls simply perforated the unbaked bricks, of which it was constructed, without bringing down any part of the building. An apparent attempt of the Mamalukes to throw succours into the place was easily repelled; still, however, the attack proceeded but slowly, with a loss to the besiegers which could not be compensated by any

destruction effected among the besieged. Convinced that such a mode of conducting the siege must prove ruinous in the end, Beliard, as his last resource, gave orders to proceed to the assault. The Meccans maintained a constant and well directed fire, but could not prevent the French from opening their first circumvallation. Notwithstanding the former sallied from their fortress, and with the utmost intrepidity attempted to drive the French from their works, the latter proceeded with rapidity. One of the magazines of the fortress was blown up, and the flames spread in every direction. The distress of the besieged on this occasion, could be equalled only by their daring resolution. They had no water to prevent the extension of the flames, but they endeavoured to smother them by throwing their own bodies upon them. In this terrible situation the Arab chief called religious enthusiasm to the aid of native courage. He animated his soldiers by public exhortations; and, in their hearing, addressed his prayers to heaven for them. At every interval, the mingled noise of devotional hymns and warlike shouts was heard, and multitudes of them poured upon the enemy from every hand, notwithstanding the destruction which in that case almost inevitably awaited them. When night approached the order was given to storm. The French, exasperated by what they had already suffered, advanced with all the intrepidity which rage can inspire. The Meccans, equally brave, more numerous, and exalted to a degree of enthusiasm, which only religion can infuse, received them with a resolution equally determined. The French twice saw themselves in the interior of the fortress, and imagined that they might take pos-

session of it. Twice, however, they were repulsed with loss, when night and extreme fatigue obliged them to intermit the combat.

The day which had just elapsed had not much meliorated the situation of the French army. They had lost many of their best men, without having been able to inspire the enemy with any degree of terror. Their ammunition was almost exhausted; their attempts to storm gave them little reason to hope for success in that way; or, should they ultimately succeed, their loss must be such as to render success almost fatal to them. No other resource remained than to set fire to the buildings of the fortress, and thus to destroy an enemy whom they could not hope to vanquish. Two fires were accordingly kindled, and troops were posted at every avenue by which the enemy might attempt to escape.

Such, in the mean time, was the dread which the French entertained of the Meccans, that they could venture to take rest only in the order of battle. Their resolution, however, was greatly increased by the information received from a Coptic bishop, who had deserted from the village, and who informed them that the condition of the enemy was yet more desperate than their own. During twelve hours they had been altogether without water, at the same time that they were exposed to the burning heat of the climate, which was greatly augmented by the scorching fires by which they were surrounded.

In such a condition it was evident they could not hope to make a long resistance. An hour before daybreak, thirty of the best armed among the Meccans forced their way through the French army and escaped. Encouraged by the desperate situation of

the garrison, the French entered by the breaches which had been made by the fires, and still meeting with greater opposition than had been expected, they put to death almost every one whom they met. Nothing could exceed the distress of the Meccans. A chief, who was brought before the general, was so swollen with heat and fatigue, that when he endeavoured to sit down his skin burst in several places. "If, said he, I am to be killed, let a speedy period be put to my misery." The resistance made by this chief proved his courage, and the anxious affection of a slave who accompanied him, and who seemed to forget his own sufferings in concern for those of his master, proved that his courage, was not tainted with ferocity. "How good must he have been, Denon justly exclaims, to be thus cherished by his slave."

After a few reflections on the melancholy nature of his situation, the number of friends whom he had lost, and the ease with which those friends were forgotten by those who were to fill their places, Denon tells us, that, on the 23d of March, Beliard granted a general pardon to all his prisoners, and restored them to liberty, a mode of conduct which the behaviour of his troops probably gave little reason to expect. The Mamalukes made their appearance; but while the French, in expectation of an attack, were preparing for an engagement, they discovered that the enemy had no intention of fighting, and that they had advanced only for the purpose of procuring water from the Nile, a scheme in which they succeeded. When they retired they were pursued by the French, who had an opportunity of observing their whole force. It consisted of two thousand

infantry, a thousand horses, and a thousand camels, besides the remains of the Meccan army. The Mamalukes retired to the desert with great deliberation, learning from several horsemen who remained in the rear, and communicated the intelligence by firing, every motion of the French army. Perceiving that it was impossible to bring them to an engagement, without their own consent, and that, consequently, to pursue was to incur fruitless fatigue, the French returned to the village.

After Beliard had collected the guns and ammunition which had fallen into his hands, he was more able to calculate the loss which he had sustained, and to compare it with the advantages which had been acquired. He found that, in killed and wounded, he had lost one hundred and fifty men, amounting to the seventh of his whole force. When this loss was added to that of those who had been destroyed in the boats, the whole became very considerable. The capture of the vessels by the Meccans, had much diminished his ammunition, and the late engagement had so much reduced it, that hardly enough remained for another combat. Their distance from Cairo, the only place whence effectual aid could be procured, was an hundred and fifty leagues, and they had no method of transmitting to that city any information concerning their situation. The security of their retreat was in some measure, doubtful. In short, though they had obtained a victory, it was dearly purchased; and seemed to leave their affairs in no better situation than that in which it had found them.

To occupy Nagadi was considered as being of considerable importance. The passage through the de-

sert to Cosseir was shorter than from any other place in Egypt. The journey on foot may be performed in three days, with a dromedary it may be performed in two. When the French were in Egypt, the price for the conveyance of an hundred weight of merchandise from Cosseir to Nagadi, was a dollar, but this price is different according to the state of commerce. The price of camels, the most common beasts of burden, varies in the same manner. Before the arrival of the French the price was sixty dollars, during their stay it fell to twenty dollars; a proof that during that time trade was almost entirely annihilated.

This reflection, in itself sufficiently obvious, leads Denon to give a picture of the state of the country, and of the behaviour of the French while in it, which may well be contrasted with their conduct towards the merchants of Nagadi. From a few instances of equitable dealing, the French assumed the credit of being more just than the Mamalukes, but they daily committed many acts which could by no means be justified. For this they urged the common plea of necessity, as if necessity had at all called them into the country. Many innocent persons were daily put to death, merely because the soldiers did not know whether they were friends or enemies. A caravan of merchants was often accidentally, sometimes willingly, mistaken for a party of Meccans. In this case several of them were put to death; whatever part of their merchandise was reckoned useful was taken from them; and their camels, if in good condition, were exchanged for such as were worn out or wounded. The soldiers, indeed, were not always able to retain their plunder; when summon-

ed to arms, they were obliged to abandon whatever was of great weight or unwieldy size, but the loss to the unlucky proprietor was always the same. The French boasted that they came to give liberty to the Egyptians, but the state of the inhabitants, instead of being improved, was in every respect worse than before their expedition. So much was the French army dreaded, that, wherever their arrival was foreseen, the inhabitants fled from their houses, carrying with them whatever could be carried. On their return they found all that was eatable devoured, all that was combustible burnt, all that could be broken dashed in pieces. Perhaps the carcass of a dog might remain, killed while defending his master's property. When the French were to stay for some time in a village, and were desirous of augmenting their plunder by the land-tax, the inhabitants were summoned to return, under the penalty of being treated as rebels, that is, of being shot wherever they could be found. Even submission could not always save them from similar treatment. When they returned in a body they were mistaken for an enemy. Their clubs were mistaken for muskets, and many of them were killed before these mistakes could be rectified. The French were surprised that in such cases the innocent sufferers were willing to retaliate, and always punished the attempt with exemplary severity. If the people remained in their houses, the first demand was the land-tax; the next was a supply to the wants of the army. They lost not indeed all their property at once. It was taken from them regularly and systematically. A portion of their provisions was daily seized, without any kind of remuneration; or if any soldier, more conscientious than his fellows,

chose to pay, he always fixt the price himself. If wood was scarce, a few of their utensils, or even their doors, were hewn down in order to be burnt. With the exception of such injuries, and, to use Denon's own words, "having a few of their wives and daughters ravished," they sustained no other wrong from their French deliverers. When the French left them, however, the poor Egyptians had other ills awaiting them. The Mamalukes, offended that their enemies had been received as friends, without pity carried away or destroyed whatever had been left. Wherever the Mamalukes had been received with amity, or with apparent amity, the French were equally severe, so that few parts of the country remained unplundered. When such is the picture drawn by a Frenchman, whom we cannot suppose to be altogether free from national prejudices, what must the reality have been?

Buonaparte now had nothing to fear from the inhabitants of Egypt; but his operations had procured against him, a combination much more formidable than a few insurgent Turks and Arabs. The Ottoman Porte, convinced that Buonaparte was not so disinterested, as to subdue this part of its territory, in order again to restore it, willingly agreed to join its forces to those of the British, who were anxious to expel the French from a situation, which seemed to put it in their power to annoy the British empire in India. To effect the expulsion of the French from Egypt, a plan of considerable magnitude was formed. Gezar bashaw, who had been nominated to the government of Egypt, was to lead a Turkish army through Asia Minor; and to attack the French on the side of Syria. At the same time, a descent was to be attempted, at the mouths of the Nile. Murad bey's

army, in Upper Egypt, was designed to make a diversion on that side; and Sir Sidney Smith, who had sailed from Britain, in the *Tyger* of 84 guns, was to direct the general execution of the attack, and to give assistance where he judged it necessary.

The tranquillity which the French enjoyed, for a short time after the insurrection, was employed in scientific operations. The lake Menzala was surveyed. The roads of Damiatta, Cape Bongan, and the mouth of the Bibels, were sounded. The Natron lakes and the canal of Suez were examined, and the level taken from sea to sea; but Buonaparte no sooner was convinced, that he was to be attacked by numerous forces, and at different points, than he resolved to meet the Turkish army, which was to proceed through Asia Minor; and thus to remove the chief seat of war, from that country of which he was already possessed. To protect Egypt, he left part of his forces. Cairo was given in charge to Dugua; Rossetta to Menou; Alemyras was to command Damiatta; the superintendence of Alexandria was intrusted to Marmont; and Desaix was to remain in Upper Egypt, to counteract the designs of the Mamalukes, under Murad bey. The other, and by far the greater part of the army, under generals Kleber, Bon, Lannes, and Regnier, directed its march towards Syria.

Kleber, who, in the absence of Buonaparte, conducted the army destined to the invasion of Syria, on the 4th of February, arrived at Cathich. He was here joined by Regnier, and proceeded to take possession of the village of El Arish. The troops, by whom it was occupied, made a brave resistance; but finding that they could not maintain their position, they retired into the fortress. This fortress was immediately be-

sieged. On the 17th of February, Buonaparte joined the army: and, in two days, El Arish surrendered.

Though the Turks were willing to check the progress of the French arms, they were strangers to the celerity of French military movements. Besides, their army could arrive at Egypt only by a very long march, so that the French were approaching Syria, long before the army appeared, which had been appointed to attack them from that quarter. They quickly overran a great part of the country; finding more opposition in the deserts which they had to cross, than in the troops by whom they were attacked. Gaza yielded without resistance: and, though Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, made a vigorous defence; it could not withstand the efforts of the French army.

Sir Sidney Smith, anxious to create some powerful obstacle to the progress of the invaders of Syria, resolved to undertake the defence of St. John d'Acre; hoping, that, though he might not be able completely to repel the French troops, he might still gain time, till the expected reinforcements could arrive. Smith was sensible that Acre, as he himself informs us, could not be defended by the rules of art; but he was likewise sensible that courage and intrepidity require but few fortifications. To encourage the bashaw, who commanded the place, he dispatched colonel Philipeaux, the companion of his escape from France, and an eminent engineer, to add all possible strength to the ruinous fortifications. At the same time, he had the good fortune to capture the fleet of gunboats, which had on board the greater part of the ar-

tillery intended for the siege. This artillery was immediately landed, and employed in its defence.

To the capture of part of the French artillery, some have attributed their failure in the siege. That it retarded their operations, may be granted: but that it caused their ultimate disgrace, is perhaps doubtful. Had they been unable to effect a breach, the want of artillery might have been justly blamed: but when a breach was produced, capable of admitting 50 men in front we must attribute the repulse to some other cause. All are willing to confess, that, in courage and military address, Buonaparte has had few equals; but such a concession by no means implies the inference, that he has had none: and why should we, by attributing the repulse of the French to a negative cause, deprive the intrepidity of an individual, and the valour of a few troops, of that applause, which, in the present case at least, they appear to merit.

Buonaparte, little doubting of success, having taken possession of Saffet, Nazareth, and Sheffam, to facilitate his intended progress towards Damascus, and, having reconnoitered Acre, resolved to attack it upon the east. On the 20th of March, the trenches were opened. Within nine days, batteries and counter batteries were mounted with the same artillery, to which Jaffa yielded in two days: and, scarcely were the great guns mounted, before a breach was made in one of the towers. At the same time, the branch of a mine was sprung, by which the French imagined they had injured the counterscarp. Recollecting their success at Jaffa, they rushed to the attack; but, after passing the ditch, they were so vig-

orously opposed, that they retreated with precipitation.

Smith, convinced that the defence of Acre depended more on the courage of his troops, than on the strength of the place, endeavoured by frequent sallies, to interrupt the progress of the enemies' works. In this way, much valour was exerted by both parties. The Turks perceived that the French were not irresistible; and they acquired that courage, and that confidence in the judgment of their British commander, which enabled them to repel those dreadful assaults, which French skill and intrepidity so frequently directed against them.

To enumerate all the incidents which took place, during the siege of Acre, however interesting it might be to one class of readers, is certainly foreign to the purpose of this historical sketch. The operations of both sides were the exertions of military address, prompted by military valour, and inflamed by military pride. Instead of the distant evolutions of a modern campaign, the combatants realized the desperate engagements of ancient times. Buonaparte, whose career of victories had not hitherto been interrupted, keenly urged his men to the combat. Almost daily, the French mounted the breach, and were no less constantly repulsed. Sometimes incessant volleys were poured upon them, as they attempted to cross the pitch; till the number of dead bodies was so great, that they were every where mingled with the ruins; and, built among sand-bags, served the besiegers to construct their ravelines. Sometimes they were permitted to mount the breach, and to proceed a certain length within it, when the Turks,

instantly brandishing their sabres, laid these in the front dead at their feet, while those in the rear were obliged to hurry backwards. At length, according to Sir Sydney Smith's report, the French refused to mount over the putrid bodies of their companions. A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hand of an Arabian dervis, with a letter to the Bashaw, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead. The Turks and British were deliberating upon their answer, and were about to express their acceptance of the proposal, when a volley of shot and shells announced an unexpected assault. The garrison, however, was prepared for their reception and repulsed them with a carnage which their perfidy had deserved. Unless this account can be shewn to be false, it casts a shade upon Buonaparte's character, which can scarcely be effaced by all his military excellence. Smith informs us, "that he saved the life of the Arab, from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tyger, from whence he sent him back to the general with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof."

Buonaparte, convinced that Acre was not to be taken either by force or stratagem, and considerable reinforcements having entered it from Rhodes, he reluctantly resolved to retreat. As a preparatory measure; he sent off his sick and wounded; and redoubled his fire upon the town, to prevent the Turks from interrupting his designs. The siege was given up, on the 20th of May, after it had continued sixty-one days. After the French had thrown into the sea, or buried, such pieces of artillery as they could

not carry with them, they commenced their retreat; burning and ravaging every part of the country, as they passed, to prevent an army from approaching the frontiers of Egypt.

Buonaparte, though he failed in the siege of Acre, fulfilled, it has been argued, the principal end of his expedition: but it is apparent, that neither Buonaparte nor his opponents had attained the object of their exertions. The French general, surely, meant not to stop before he had overcome Damascus, and the British, in conjunction with the Turks, confessedly had projected no less than the expulsion of the French from Egypt. Both projects had failed. Instead of being master of Syria, Buonaparte had been obliged to retreat, with disgrace, from a town, which he expected to take at the first assault: but he still remained master of Egypt, from which they Turks and British seemed not to be at present able to expel him. For, though he had lost many able officers, and more than a fourth of his men, no army had yet been collected, with which it would have been safe to pursue him into Egypt.

To collect a force, sufficient to attack, with success, the army in Egypt, was now an object which occupied the attention of the Ottoman Porte. Troops, designed for the attack of Alexandria, were, by Seid Mustapha bashaw, assembled at the island of Rhodes. During the absence of Buonaparte, discontents had been again exemplified among the conquered. The Arabs had taken every opportunity to harass their French neighbours. Dugua had sent against them several parties, and had burnt some of their villages. The arrival of Buonaparte restored tranquillity; a

tranquillity which we might be justified, in attributing rather to the terror of his arms, than to respect for his person.

While Buonaparte was engaged in bringing to a conclusion, the schemes formed by his generals for reducing the Mamalukes, he was informed that a powerful Turkish squadron had anchored in the road of Aboukir, and that part of a Turkish army had hence been landed. To this quarter, therefore, he immediately directed his whole attention. His generals were ordered to concentrate their forces towards this point. The Turks had taken the castle of Aboukir by storm; and had intrenched themselves on the neck of land which connects it with the main. The intrenchments were vigorously attacked, and no less vigorously defended; but, after a severe conflict, in which the Turks suffered much, they were defeated, and the greater part of them drowned when endeavouring to escape to their ships, which lay at some distance in the road. A party still kept possession of the castle of Aboukir. They were desired to capitulate, but declared themselves ignorant of the mode of capitulating with arms in their hands. A dreadful bombardment commenced, and continued eight days; during a great part of which time, the battering cannon were planted on the counterscarp. The fort was reduced to a heap of ruins, when the son of the bashaw Mustapha, who conducted the expedition, with 2000 men, threw down their arms. The place had been defended with a desperate resolution. Within the fort, the French found 300 wounded, and 1800 killed.

Buonaparte, by this action, in some measure re-

trieved his fame, from the shade which, at Acre, had been thrown upon it. By his vigorous measures, he prevented the Turks, under Mastapha, from being joined by the Mamalukes, the Arabs, and the remains of Murad's army; a junction, which, if it had succeeded, might have rendered his tenure of Egypt extremely precarious.

When the French general returned to Cairo, he endeavoured, by new regulations, to ensure the permanency of tranquillity; and, by flattering the religious prejudices of the inhabitants, to ingratiate himself into their favour. The latter part of Buonaparte's conduct, has, by his friends, been called an useful political art; by his enemies, despicable hypocrisy. That it was hypocrisy, is certain; for, though it is easily possible for a man to be neither Mahometan nor Christian, it is not possible for him to be, at the same time, both Mahometan and Christian. Whether the hypocrisy was despicable or not, each will decide, according to his humour, his principles, or his prejudices.

While Buonaparte was, thus, endeavouring to establish the French power in Egypt upon a permanent foundation, he received intelligence from France, which presented, to his ambitious mind, a prize of a nobler nature than the conquest of Egypt. Ambition, like every other inordinate passion, makes a man often act in apparent contradiction to his known character. This general, who had not only professed himself the soldier's friend, but had, in reality, shown the greatest attachment to his troops, scrupled not, when impelled by more powerful motives, to abandon those veterans, who had ac-

accompanied him in all his fortunes. Without disclosing his schemes, to any except general Berthier, he embarked; and, on the 24th of August, sailed for France, there to act a part, still more extraordinary than that which he had acted in Egypt.

When Buonaparte left his army, their affairs, for some time, continued to wear a prosperous aspect: but, as, by want of a fleet, they were deprived of even the hope of being reinforced from Europe; as every engagement, whether prosperous or not, continually diminished their number; and as disease, even when at rest from every hostile operation, continued perceptibly to thin their ranks, their situation became daily more alarming: and, under such circumstances, their prosperity must necessarily have declined, had they still been commanded by their favourite general. While the French force, in this quarter was becoming daily of less consequence, that of their enemies was continually gathering new vigour. The grand vizier, who, for some time, had been occupied in the chastisement of Gezar bashaw, the governor of Acre, approached from Syria with a numerous army. The Turkish fleet, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, had been powerfully reinforced. The French army was not only considerably diminished in number, but was become, in some degree, odious to every class of inhabitants, and was sometimes insulted by such as had promised them support. Kleber, who, since Buonaparte's departure, had the chief command, might have resisted the projected attacks: but, convinced that, though a surrender might be delayed, it could not be avoided, he chose rather to commence negotiations, while his force was such as to claim honourable terms. The negotiation was conducted

on the part of the Turks and British, by Sir Sidney Smith; and, while the French orators, were, at their numerous festivals, declaiming on the invincibility of the French arms, Kleber had agreed to evacuate Egypt.

The treaty of evacuation had been negotiated, and concluded, by Sir Sidney Smith, who, at that time, signed himself minister plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain. His authority to act in that capacity was afterwards controverted; and, as it was apprehended, that, if the French troops were permitted to land in France, they would immediately be employed against the Austrians, it was resolved to set aside great part of that convention upon which Smith and Kleber had agreed. The conduct of the British ministers was, on this account, severely censured, by the minority in parliament. It appeared, however, that in concluding such a negotiation, Smith had perhaps exceeded both his instructions and his powers: but, had the treaty suited the fancy of the British court, the validity of his powers might not have been so severely scrutinized. As it did not suit that fancy, the smallest informality was eagerly seized, to prevent its execution. The Austrians, in a short time afterwards, by concluding a separate treaty with France, showed the British, that their friendship was such, as not to require that, on account of it, a nation should incur even the suspicion of treachery.

Whatever were the powers of Smith, or whatever truth there might be in the asseverations of the British ministers, the French army surely had reason to feel the warmest indignation. They had shown,

by concluding a treaty with Smith, that they believed him, according to his own assertion, to be possessed of sufficient powers. Relying on that treaty, they had evacuated every post, which they had occupied in Egypt, except Cairo and Alexandria. When they found themselves under the necessity of either commencing a new negotiation, or renewing hostilities, in a situation more unfavourable than that in which they formerly stood, such was the resentment of the French, that they again had recourse to arms; and attacking the Turkish army, amounting to nearly 40,000 men, defeated them, killing 8000. Kleber, returning from this engagement, found that Murad had entered Cairo, and that the city was in revolt against him. He immediately took possession of it by force, and subjected to punishment such as had shown themselves actively inimical to the French interests.

Though the British had refused to confirm the treaty of Smith, by which the evacuation of Egypt might have been procured without further trouble, they soon fitted out a formidable expedition, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, to procure by force, that which they had refused to accept by negotiation. The British forces came within view of Alexandria, on the 1st of March 1801; and, on the next day, anchored in the road of Aboukir. Till the 7th, the swell of the sea prevented any of the troops from being landed. This interval had been employed, by the French, in preparations for their reception. The landing place was steep, and composed of loose sand, which afforded an insecure support to the tread of such as ascended. The French had

erected a battery on the summit, on which they had mounted 15 pieces of artillery. On the 8th, the landing took place. They were constrained to row towards land, almost a mile, exposed to the fire of the batteries, and to incessant volleys from 2,500 men. Notwithstanding this furious opposition the boats proceeded towards land. The soldiers leapt on shore, and, forming themselves into a line, proceeded immediately to the charge. The advantageous post of the French, could not enable them to withstand the impetuosity of the British. They were soon obliged to retreat, leaving behind them 8 pieces of cannon, and a number of horses. The troops, which had thus effected a landing, advanced three miles. The remainder of the forces were landed on the 8th and 9th. On the 12th, the whole army advanced, and soon came in sight of the French, who were advantageously posted upon a ridge, having on their right the sea, and the canal of Alexandria on their left.

No sooner were the armies in sight, than the British resolved to engage. The attack commenced on the 13th, with an attempt to turn the right flank of the French line. The enemy waited not for the attack, they descended from the ridge, and commenced the action. The conflict was severe, but terminated in favour of the British, though not without the loss of 2000 men, killed, wounded, or missing. The loss of the French was certainly more than equal. The precise number of men is not known.

Following their advantage, the British continued their march, and, on the 21st, again engaged the French, within four miles of Alexandria. The contest was conducted with uncommon skill, uncommon

courage, and uncommon inveteracy. The troops on both sides were possessed of all the discipline, the intrepidity, and enmity of their respective nations. Every man fought, as if the honour of his nation, and the event of the combat depended on individual bravery. The French returned twice to the charge, and were as often repulsed. Their cavalry, which were very numerous, and no less expert, charged in column, and were repeatedly mingled with the British infantry. At length, however, they were forced to give way, and those troops, whom Buonaparte had, with exultation, termed invincible, and who, in fact, had seldom been vanquished, were taught to have some respect to the intrepidity of Britons. The loss of the French, as in the former engagement, was not exactly known. It has been stated at 3000. That of the British, in killed, wounded and missing, was certainly half that sum: but their severest loss was the veteran Abercrombie, who lived not to enjoy the fame which his valour so truly merited.

This battle, though fatal to the British general, was decisive of the fate of Egypt. Hutchison succeeded to Abercrombie in the chief command. Admiral Blanket, bringing a considerable force from the East Indies, effected a landing at Suez; but the troops brought by him did not arrive soon enough to participate the honour of conquest.

Hutchison, after the engagement, immediately passed on to Alexandria. Colonel Spencer took Rosetta. On the 9th of May, 4000 British, with as many Turks, attacked the French near Rhamanie. The British were again victorious. The French first retreated to Rhamanie, and, during the night, con-

tinued their flight to Cairo. The garrison left at Rhamanie immediately surrendered to the British. Cairo was the centre of the French strength and influence; to attack them in it, therefore, seemed to be the speediest mode of putting an end to the contest. For this purpose, the army was put in motion. About the middle of June, they arrived before the walls of the capital of Egypt. The French were by far too few to think of defending a city so extensive; and in which they had so many enemies. On the 22d, the French offered to capitulate. After several days, the conditions were settled, and Cairo, with its dependencies evacuated. Menou soon after accepted, for the whole army of Egypt, the same terms, which had been granted to those who occupied Cairo. The French, with their baggage, arms, ammunition, and other property, were at the expence of the Turks and British, to be carried to the nearest ports in the Mediterranean, belonging to the Republic; so that the exertions of British valour, and the loss of so many British lives, had obtained only the same terms, which Sir Sydney Smith had formerly imposed on Kleber. By the treaty of Amiens, the Turkish dominions, possessed by the belligerent powers, were to be restored. The British long delayed the complete evacuation of Egypt; for this, every politician assigned a cause suited to his own fancy. Egypt is now evacuated.

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